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INTERNATIONAL

ROLE OF STATE CAPITALISM IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 1, 1980 signed to press 15 Jan 80 pp 72-83

[Article by Yu.N. Rozaliyev: "State Capitalism and the Developing Economy"]

[Text] An interesting and useful exchange of opinions that has developed in the journal NARODY AZII I AYRIKI concerns most important questions of the liberated countries' socioeconomic evolution. The articles which have been published sometimes express similar and sometimes diametrically opposite viewpoints. Thus A.I. Levkov-skiy describes the developing societies as "transitional" (intermediate), diverse-structural and multistructural; he believes that not one structure (production method) has been victorious in the developing countries; they will preserve this character, the scholar believes, for a long period of time. Proceeding from this main premise, the author endeavors to explain the "social diversity" of the developing countries, the specific features of class formation and class struggle in them, the possibility of "several versions of social development," the essence of "non-capitalist development" and so forth by "the particular mutual relationship of the structures."

In contrast to this, R.A. Ul'yanovskiy does not consider multistructure a specific feature of the developing countries; sharply criticizing a number of propositions advanced by A.I. Levkovskiy, he sees as their specific feature the particularly strong traditionalism in these countries, the domination throughout their history of noneconomic methods of pressuring the peasant-producer, nonequivalent exchange imposed by the developed capitalist countries on the former colonies and semicolonies. the appreciable role in the East of the religious factor, the continuing process of the formation of nations, the "quaint interweaving of basis and superstructural conservatism and dynamism and profound backwardness and social progress" and the unfolding in a number of countries of a "new moncapitalist structure of the economy." It is not a question, R.A. Ul'yanovskiy believes, "of the interaction of a multiplicity of structures allegedly /determining/ (my emphasis -- Yu.R.) the current position and development prospects of the liberated countries but of the struggle of all the economic structures subordinated to capital now being superimposed by the possibility of the choice of the path of noncapitalist development and a socialist orientation."2

It seems to us that the specific features of contemporary oriental and African countries are to be found not in their "multistructure" and particular "possibilities"

of evolution which are opening up but in the reality which the processes already occurring in these countries constitute there: rapidly developing capitalism or movement along a path of socialist orientation; and the singularities of this capitalism and its development and of the creation of the prerequisites of socialism in certain countries are also specific features of the countries in question. However, the singularities of Afro-Asian capitalism (including state capitalism), as also of the prospective move toward socialism, can only be understood upon an analysis of their economic history.

The oriental people's winning of political independence simultaneously marked the accomplishment (or start) of bourgeois-democratic revolutions. "The bourgeoisdemocratic content of revolution," V.I. Lenin wrote, "means purging a country's social relations (customs, establishments) of medievalism, serfdom and feudalism."3 The main obstacle to such a "purge" is colonialism, at whose liquidation the liberation revolutions were primarily aimed. From the viewpoint of internal conditions direct forms of colonialism are possible only until capitalism in the colonies has achieved a certain maturity. As is known, V.I. Lenin pointed out that "imperialism forever engenders capitalism (from the subsistence economy of the colonies and backward countries) anew"4 and "accelerates the development of capitalism in the most backward countries."5 that "capitalist production is transplanted in the colonies at an increasingly accelerated tempo"6 and that imperialism "engenders anew transitions from small-scale to large-scale capitalism, from weak to developed commodity exchange and so on and so forth."7 Noting all this, V.I. Lenin pointed to the direct regularity of the spread and exacerbation of the struggle against national oppression and imperialism precisely where local capitalism had reached the highest degree of development. "There is not nor can there be salvation from the oppression of capital without the further development of capitalism and without class struggle in the soil thereof. And capitalism enlists precisely in this struggle the working people's masses of the entire world, sweeping away the fustiness and calloused nature of local life, destroying national barriers and prejudices and joining together the workers of all countries "It remains indisputable," V.I. Lenin wrote, "that having awakened Asia, capitalism has called forth there national movements everywhere, that the trend of these movements is the creation of rational states in Asia and that it is precisely these states which insure the best conditions for the development of capitalism."9

Regarding the national liberation revolutions in the East as bourgeois-democratic, V.I. Lenin considered them of the same type as the 1905-1907 revolution in Russia: "The Russian revolution and the revolutions in Asia amount to a struggle to supersede Octobrist capital and to replace it with democratic capital." 10

The present-day Asian and African countries are in their absolute majority capitalist (capitalistically developing) countries with all the consequences ensuing therefrom. The structures which exist in these countries are in the absolute majority of cases so integrated in a capitalist basis (largely specific) that all attempts to articulate and study them in "pure form" have been unsuccessful in practice, although a study of these structures (particularly the capitalist structures or multistructure capitalism) affords an opportunity to better understand the singularities of the development of oriental capitalism as a whole. The only exception is, perhaps, state capitalism, which largely determines the specific features of the capitalism and movement along a path of socialist orientation of the young states.

The theoretical and practical significance of the elaboration of the problems of state capitalism is extraordinarily important not only because in our time an ever increasing number of states are declaring its intention to lay the foundations of the building of a socialist society but also because state capitalism is becoming increasingly prevalent and its role in the building of the foundations of the national economy of young states is increasing from day to day. In the 1950's-1960's orientalists endeavored to ascertain primarily the social-class essence of state capitalism in the liberated countries. The central feature of their analysis currently is the problem of its place and role in the contemporary developing world and its future development, particularly under the conditions of a socialist orientation. 11 Literature expresses at least two main viewpoints on this question. Some scholars believe that state capitalism is disappearing in practice in Asian and African countries; under the conditions of a socialist orientation it is being transformed into a fundamentally new socioeconomic formation (a "noncapitalist," "semisocialist," "people's," "state" and "public" formation, a "national-democratic sector of a socialist orientation" and so forth).12 Another group of scholars believes that state capitalism preserves its essence at all stages of the development of the liberated countries and at the time of all changes of state power, but that there is a fundamental change in its role and place in the economy. Upon this or the other country's transition to a path of socialist orientation state capitalism functions together with the new, embryonic socialist structure. The latter is strengthened and gradually converted into the prevailing structure of the economy not by way of the transformation of the state-capitalist structure into a socialist or semisocialist structure but in the close interaction of the state capitalist and socialist structures and the former's subordination to the latter. Consequently, the need for the prolonged preservation of state capitalism under the conditions of a socialist orientation and the use in every possible way of capitalism subordinate to the state in the interests of laying the foundations of a socialist society is a most important task of the progressive governments of young countries. 13 These arguments are substantiated in the facts of the present-day reality of the oriental countries; they fully concur with Lenin's proposition that even under post-October conditions, together with others, two independent structures -- socialist and state-capitalist -- were preserved unchanged in Soviet Russia. Furthermore, Lenin's plan for the building of a socialist society in Soviet Russia envisaged not the liquidation or transformation of state capitalism but its development in every possible way, close interaction with socialism and the subordination of its activity to the tasks of building socialism.14 V.I. Lenin assumed the existence of a type of state capitalism such as cooperation for many years. 15

State capitalism in the oriental countries is a particular type of state capitalism whose emergence and development are inseparably connected with the history of the peoples' struggle against imperialist oppression and for the consolidation of political independence and the surmounting of economic backwardness. Its significance in the liberated countries has greatly increased in connection with the exacerbation of their confrontation with imperialism and neocolonialism. It is not something set in concrete and given once and for all. Its content and forms depend both on the socioeconomic conditions, nature of state power and orientation of the development of a given country and also on the liberated peoples' negotiation of certain stages of socioeconomic evolution.

From the time of its emergence the state capitalism of the liberated countries is opposed to colonial oppression. State sovereignty is the first indispensable condition of its formation; it is predominantly the state sector of the economy, that is, the nationalized property of the colonialists and, in a number of cases, of the haute bourgeoisie also which becomes its material-production basis.

The role of state capitalism increases markedly in the period of consolidation and modernization of the national economies of the Asian and African countries. Relying on the nationalized, essentially state-capitalist, sector, the young states are endeavoring to do away with the vestiges of the colonial past, strengthen the economy and raise the population's living standard. The extent of development of state capitalism (primarily in the qualitative-social plane) indicates the extent of the efforts of a given country aimed at extricating itself from backwardness and dependence on imperialism.

Under the conditions of the country's capitalist evolution state capitalism is extensively used by national private capital and, to a certain extent, foreign monopolies to speed up the development of capitalism. It was precisely with its assistance along with the state's implementation of a certain economic policy in such countries as India, Pakistan, Turkey, prerevolutionary Iran and others that a national monopoly capital emerged and strengthened which has a tendency to develop into state-monopoly capital. In certain countries state capitalism afforded an opportunity for the formation of bureaucratic capital (that is, a distinctive variety of monopoly capital whose economic predominance is based mainly not on enterprise in the sphere of material production or circulation but on the direct use of the political power of a narrow group of persons in mercenary interests).

This or the other country's embarkation on the path of a socialist orientation of development inevitably leads to an increase in the significance of state capitalism as the main and sole method of directing the activity of private capital into the channel of state interests and the creation of a capitalism subordinate to the state which is used to prepare for the "material-production 'introduction' of socialism." 16

This use of state capitalism is only possible under the conditions of a definite alinement of class and political forces and given the political supremacy of the revolutionary classes and the transfer to the state, which hews to a socialist orientation, of the commanding positions in the economy. The socialist community states' assistance, support and transmission of the experience of socioeconomic transformations are also of considerable importance.

State capitalism in the Asian and African countries is now a ubiquitous phenomenon. The proportion of state investments in the developing countries is growing continuously. Whereas in the 1950's they constituted 25-35 percent of total capital investments in the economy, they have now risen to 45-55 percent. Despite the comparatively appreciable fluctuations in the indicators of the relative proportion of the state sector in the economy of various developing countries, it may be said that as a whole it employs 10-25 percent of the gainfully-employed population and manufactures from 5 percent to 30 percent of GNP. In India, for example, the state sector's relative proportion of the national economy's fixed capital in the 1950-1951 fiscal year constituted 15 percent, 25.6 percent in 1960-1961 and 52.1 percent in 1975-1976. The share of the state sector in the country's organized

credit system is over 80 percent in assets and deposits. These indicators are considerably higher than the corresponding data for Turkey, for example, where the assets of the state banks constitute approximately 65 percent of the country's total bank assets. 17

The above facts attest that state capitalism in the developing countries is not only a progressive phenomenon but also essential for state capitalism is "economically incomparably higher" 18 than the other structures existing in the developing countries. Its ubiquitous development is testimony to the powerful aspiration of the peoples to progress and the development in many countries of the struggle for national liberation into a struggle against exploiter relations. 19

State capitalism is in the Asian and African countries an instrument for the removal of precapitalist vestiges in the economy, the development of national enterprise and the strengthening of economic self-sufficiency and political independence. It is making it possible to solve the complex problem of accumulation, increase the capacity of the domestic market, concentrate efforts on the development of the most important rectors of the economy, make more efficient use of potential for the growth of modern industry, introduce the latest forms of enterprise and production organization, accelerate the training of skilled personnel, raise the population's living standard to a certain extent and so forth. The state-capitalist forms of economic relations largely determine the specific features of the economic structure of the developing countries.

Under conditions wherein the liberated countries, endeavoring to liquidate backwardness, have been forced to go through the law-governed phases of socioeconomic evolution in abbreviated periods of time, the sole means of accelerating the development process is the conversion of the state into the most important factor of economic growth. Such a task may be accomplished best and, what is most important, most painlessly for the broad people's masses by a state controlled by the working people. However, the political situation in the majority of Asian and African countries has evolved such that the task of accelerated economic development is being undertaken, for the most part, by bourgeois governments, which are inserting their class content in state policy and endeavoring to subordinate this policy to their narrow mercenary interests. This is eliciting the growing resistance of the working people, who are demanding both an increase in the efficiency of state-capitalist measures and an improvement in their situation. State capitalism is becoming the subject of an ever exacerbating class struggle, in the course of which bourgeois governments have at times been forced to maneuver and sometimes retreat and so forth. Fearing cardinal solutions of pressing problems, certain bourgeois governments are not consenting to a fundamental break with outmoded social relations, which is contributing to the preservation of precapitalist and early capitalist structures. capitalism is in this event in a position of complex interaction with many structures, creating the basis for a kind of multistructure capitalism. To understand the specific features of the latter it is necessary to know the "initial boundaries" and direction of the development of the economy as a whole.

After the Afro-Asian countries had achieved independence, there was a considerable acceleration in the development of capitalism in the majority of them. This was expressed in the expansion of the domestic market and private enterprise in industry

and agriculture, an increase in the number of banks and joint-stock companies, the appearance of monopolies in a number of oriental countries and so forth. At the same time backward forms of economic activity (structures) are still preserved here. But the multistructural nature of these countries is not absolute and self-sufficing.

Describing the multistructural nature of postrevolutionary Russia, V.I. Lenin, as is known, pointed to the existence therein of five types of social-economic structure. 20 It is also possible, we believe, to detect five basic types of structure in the Afro-Asian countries of a capitalist orientation, namely: the precapitalist (or antecapitalist) or their remnants; the petty capitalist type of structure (capitalism growing "from below"); the large-scale capitalist type of structure (capitalism growing "from above"); state capitalism; and foreign monopoly capitalism.

Taking this structure of the economy of the developing countries into consideration, the following propositions may be expressed with all certainty:

first, state capitalism is the most organized structure of national capitalism and at the initial stages of the development of the liberated countries the leading capitalist structure;

second, in the plane of external contradictions the struggle apropos questions of state capitalism is between national (in both its forms) and foreign capital;

third, the tendency of a buildup of the struggle around questions of state capitalism between representatives of big capital and representatives of the petit bourgeois strata is inevitably revealed within a country; and

fourth, the working people's endeavor to use the state-capitalist structure as a means of struggle against exploitation and oppression on the part of private capital is revealed increasingly strongly as capitalism develops in this country or the other.

In the development of state capitalism particular attention is merited by the contradictions which arise between the two main streams of capitalist evolution (the representatives of capital growing "from below" and "from above") and also between the working people and the bourgeoisie. It is precisely in the course of the build-up of these contradictions that state capitalism becomes an important subject of the alliance and struggle of representatives of different classes. Naturally, the concrete situation in each country determines the combination of the alliance of state capitalism with other structures, changes in the forms of this alliance and the time of its emergence, strengthening and disintegration. 21

The role of state capitalism and its significance in the system of structures are connected with the ruling circles' use of state capitalism for the solution of this cardinal problem or the other of socioeconomic development. For example, in the struggle against the domination of foreign capital (the brunt of this struggle is borne by the state-capitalist structure) state capitalism originally operates in alliance with the petty capitalist and big capitalist structures. However, the alinement of forces changes considerably with the intensification of the contradictions between representatives of different groups of private capital and the appearance in the oriental countries of big and monopoly capital. Big capital displays

a growing aspiration to establish control over state capitalism and use it in its own interests, for an alliance with the imperialist monopolies included. Naturally, there is an appreciable weakening of the progressive thrust of state capitalism here.

The causes and consequences of the change in the role of state capitalism are clearly visible upon an analysis of the economic history of individual oriental countries. Thus in Turkey, which has had a long period of independent development in modern times, state capitalism has experienced a number of stages of evolution. Initially (from 1923 through the end of the 1930's) it was the leading capitalist structure. Practically all strata of the local bourgeoisie united around it in the struggle against foreign capital for the country's economic independence. Extensive use was also made of state capitalism to supersede feudal relations in the countryside, increase commodity production and expand private enterprise. A stratification of the national bourgeoisie occurred in Turkey in World War II and immediately after it in which a small, but powerful grouping of big and monopoly capical was distinguished. State capitalism became a central object of contradictions and quarrels. Big capital and the monopolies began to fight for their "own" control over state capitalism and were successful in this in the period when the government of the Democratic Party was in power (1950-1960). The state-capitalist structure became an instrument for strengthening the domination of big capital and a means of establishing an alliance with imperialist profitable to the upper circles of the bourgeoisie. Relying on state-capitalist measures, the Turkish haute bourgeoisie succeeded in establishing a kind of state-monopoly capitalism in the country. 22

State capitalism in Turkey continues to embrace considerable spheres of material production, monetary circulation, banking and commerce. But the nature of its functioning has changed. Considerable state resources are now being put directly at the monopolies' disposal, mixed societies are emerging, a policy of the cooperation of the state sector of the economy with foreign capital is being proclaimed and so forth. The interaction of the structures is different: the positions of the precapitalist structures have weakened markedly, the big capitalist structure and the state-capitalist structure subordinate to it have strengthened and expanded, and there has been an acceleration of the transformation of the petty capitalist structure—a section of the petty bourgeoisie has found itself closely connected with the upper strata of the national bourgeoisie and foreign capital. Turkish bourgeois literature masks all these phenomena behind arguments about a "mixed economy."

Similar processes can also be observed in other developing countries. In some of them extensive use is being made of state capital for the organization of mixed joint-stock companies, and in others the state corporations are being transformed into societies part of whose shares is distributed (or sold off) among private individuals and companies. The mixed form of enterprise, reflecting, as a whole, a process of the acceleration of the development of capitalism in the East, is becoming an increasingly typical and ubiquitous phenomenon. Powerful state-private joint-stock companies, which approximate similar companies of the developed capitalist countries in the form of their organization and strength, have emerged on this basis in India, Pakistan, Turkey, Thailand, Nigeria and certain other countries.

Thus the following trend may be detected in the countries of a capitalist orientation: an initial comparative unity of all strata of the bourgeoisic and their alliance with state capitalism; the gradual growth of big private capital "along-side" and with the assistance of state capitalism; strengthening of the positions

of big capital; and the ever increasing endeavor of this capital to establish its "own" control over the state, state capitalism and the lower structures for the purpose not only of catching up with the "advanced" countries in as short a time as possible but also strengthening the material-production basis of its existence. A kind of multistrata, "multistructural" capitalist system is appearing as a result of this trend in certain countries within whose framework modern forms of the organization of capitalist enterprise "above" (including monopoly capital) are emerging and the multistructural nature and multistratification of local capitalism "below" are preserved. Not removing backwardness and the multistructural character, this system affords big, monopoly and bureaucratic capital certain benefits and seriously infringes the interests and rights not only of the working people but also the strata of the petite and middle bourgeoisie which remain outside of the alliance with state capital.

The natural reaction of the representatives of the petite bourgeoisie to this situation is an endeavor to establish their control over state capitalism and use it in their own interests. In practice this endeavor is revealed everywhere a demarcation has occurred between the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeoisie, and the representatives of the latter have begun to realize the entire precariousness of their position. It must only be taken into consideration that the petite bourgeoisis of the oriental countries is extraordinarily motley and diverse, and for this reason the interests and nuances of the policy of its numerous representatives are also highly varied and changeable.

In principle state capitalism under the conditions of the political rule of the petite bourgeoisie affords it an opportunity to ease by state-capitalist without the most negative consequences of the path of development described above. The scale of the nationalization of banks, industrial enterprises, commerce as forth grows, state-capitalist measures are accompanied by a policy of assistance to and support for small businesses, the framework of democracy is extended right up to the introduction of self-management in production, planning is employed more extensively and so forth. However, although the principles of "national socialism" are often proclaimed here, such acts do not go beyond the framework of the bourgeois society; the possibilities of the birth of new groups of big capital and, consequently, the possibilities of a repetition of the situation described above are preserved. The petite bourgeoisie ends up in a kind of "vicious circle" which can only be broken on the path of a socialist orientation of development.

Identifying nationalization with the confiscation of capitalist property, a significant number of bourgeois economists and sociologists regards state-capitalist measures as "socialist" and, consequently, portrays state capitalism as a variety of socialism. This is a deliberate distortion of reality. State capitalism is capitalism with all the consequences ensuing from this definition. 23 While establishing control over a part of big capital and utilizing it to strengthen the national economy, the governments of Asian and African countries developing along a capitalist path have nowhere done away with the right to private ownership of the implements and means of production, have not introduced full control over it, have not restricted free trade in small-scale commodity production and so forth. The existence of state capitalism has not canceled the action of the basic regularities of the development of a capitalist society and has not done away with the sharp contradictions

engendered by the capitalist development of the young states. Furthermore, state capitalism has intensified and exacerbated these contradictions in a number of cases.

The transition of a number of Asian and African countries to the path of a socialist orientation signifies in practice the revolutionary transformation of these countries' state system and the start of the transformation of their economy in a socialist direction. A qualitatively new phenomenon—germs of socialism and a socialist atructure based on expropriated bourgeois property—emerges under the new political conditions (leadership of the state by the working people, primarily the proletariat). The fundamental change in the nature of state power also changes the essence of the nationalized sector, whose highly developed, socialised and organized part becomes the basis of the socialist structure. The other part, particularly that which is in alliance (a "bloc") with private capitalism in any of its forms, continues to function as a state-capitalist structure. The socioeconomic backwardness of the countries of a socialist orientation inevitably predetermines the initially extreme weakness of the socialist structure, which is still in an embryonic state and in practice cannot exist without the particular concern, support, attention and assistance of the state.

A socialist orientation signifies the prolonged coexistence of different types of economic structure. 24 The progressive political system being established in the countries of a socialist orientation does not yet have a sufficiently strong materialproduction base; under these conditions the state's most practicable economic policy is the accelerated development of state capitalism clearing the way to the strengthening of the rudiments of socialism. The problem of socialism's alliance with the petit bourgeois element acquires paramount importance. 25 "Either to attempt to prohibit and block absolutely any development of private, nonstate exchange, that is, trade, that is, capitalism which is inevitable given the existence of millions of small-ecale producers. Such a policy would be an absurdity and the suicide of the party which tested it. An absurdity since this policy is economically impossible; suicide since parties trying such a policy inevitably fail Or (the final possible and sole intelligent policy) not attempt to prohibit or block the development of capitalism but to try to direct it in the channel of state capitalism. This is economically possible since state capitalism is present -- in this form or the other and to this extent or the other -- everywhere there are elemente of free trade and capitalism in general, "26 V.I. Lenin wrote. Thus the close interaction of socialism and state capitalism is an indispensable condition of movement along the path of a socialist orientation. The practical activity of the revolutionary-democratic regimes of the Afro-Asian countries in this direction has also, it seems to us, given rise in certain Soviet research scholars to the illusion of the conversion of state capitalism at the present stage to a "semisocialist" structure. The conversion of state capitalism to economic forms transitional to socialism is only possible at a comparatively high level of development of socialism. Under the fundamentally changed political conditions of the countries of a socialist orientation state capitalism becomes an important lever of the mobilization of internal resources for the organization of the foundations of socialism and the acceleration of movement along the path of a socialist orientation and the determination of certain limits to the development of private capital and strict control over it, for directing it into the channel of state capitalism included, for the economic preparation of the socialist economy and the organization of socialism's economic basis. 27

State capitalism is also employed for the prolonged "coexistence" of the new political power with the middle and petite bourgeoisie, small businessmen, private commerce and small-scale commodity production already operating within its framework and under its control. Only state dapitalism under the conditions of a socialist orientation opens in practice to the low-producing structures the way to a release from the pressure and tyranny of big capital and the monopolies taking shape. It is precisely state capitalism which makes it possible to gradually and psinlessly for the direct producers "familiarise" the middle and petty businessman with socialism, including switching the individual peasant farm to the path of cooperation. However, all this is accomplished not by way of the transformation of state capitalism into a socialist (or "semisocialist") structure but in the course of the close interaction of the two structures.

The state of a socialist orientation makes extensive use of state capitalism to do away with the remnants of imperialist domination, regulate and restrain the private business element and interrupt the trend of the growth of private capital into monopoly capital. In practice a new type of state capitalism appears at this time —a variety of state capitalism not encountered earlier in the economic history of countries and peoples. The specific feature of this variety of state capitalism is that, emerging in economically backward, agrarian countries under the conditions of the political domination frequently not of the proletariat but representatives of other progressive strata and groups of the population, it subordinates the private-business element to national interests and pursuall types and forms of production at the service of movement along the path of a socialist orientation.

It should be emphasized that successful development along this pack and the maximum use of state capitalism presuppose the democratization of public life in every possible way, that is, the establishment of political conditions wherein each working person may actively—both politically and economically through his constructive labor—participate in the country's movement toward socialism. Democratization is a most important aspect of a socialist orientation of development since only under the conditions of democracy does the consciousness of the proletariat rapidly mature and the cultural level of the working people and their understanding of their role in society and their tasks grow. The development and strengthening of democracy is also of importance for the effective use of state capitalism in the interests of the working people.

Thus the path of a socialist orientation presupposes not the liquidation and immediate destruction of capitalism altogether, with which the bourgeois press intimidates narrow-ainded people, but the development in every possible way of the socialist structure and state capitalism with the extensive democratization of social life and the working people's active participation in the building of a new society. The progressive forces of the Asian and African countries realize that only the development of democracy can provide a guarantee against the degeneration of state power and the formation of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and capital and also against the appearance of governments expressing the interests of a "new" bourgeoisie. The events in certain oriental countries have shown that the appearance of bureaucratic capital and governments expressing its interests is a completely real danger for the developing countries. These facts corroborate once again the Marxist proposition that the development of state capitalism under the conditions of limited (bourgeois) democracy lands to the establishment of an alliance of the exploiter classes therewith and a rebirth of capitalism in ugly forms.

In the current international situation, when the forces of peace and socialism are exerting an increasing influence on the course of world development, the path of a socialist orientation of Asian and African countries may run through increasingly peaceful and favorable conditions. Given the presence of the two most important internal components—a progressive political power adhering in practice to a socialist orientation and a developing economy in which state capitalism, controlling private capital and directing it into the channel of socialism, performs the predominant role—the path of a socialist orientation may lead to the building of the foundations of socialism and subsequently to socialism. The socialist community states headed by the Soviet Union are the natural allies of the countries of a socialist orientation on this path, and they are being given tremendous assistance and support by the world workers movement and all the world's progressive forces.

FOOTNOTES

- A.I. Levkovskiy, "Sotsial'naya struktura razvivayushchikhsya stran (Problemy mnogoukiadnogo, perekhodnogo obshchestva)" [Social Structure of the Developing Countries (Problems of the Multistructural, Transitional Society)], Moscow, 1978, pp 20-21, 31-33; same suthor, "Class Formation in the Transitional Society of the Oriental Developing Countries," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 4, 1979, pp 94-110.
- 2. R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "The Question of the Specific Features of the Development of the Oriental Countries," NARODY AZII I AFRIKI No 5, 1979, p 74. True, the author's latter conclusion contradicts, we believe, his assertion that "bourgeois dynamism, which was long held to be intrinsic mainly to the Western countries, is gaining ever increasing strength in the East also" (ibid.). As a whole, it seems to us that R.A. Ul'yanovskiy has shown the capitalist evolution of the developing countries entirely convincingly, particularly in his book "Sovremennyye problemy Azii i Afriki" [Current Problems of Asia and Africa] (Moscow, 1978).
- 3. V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 44, p 145.
- 4. Ibid., vol 28, p 91.
- 5. Ibid., vol 30, p 132.
- 6. Ibid., p 35.
- 7. Ibid., vol 38, p 91.
- 8. Ibid., vol 24, p 89.
- 9. Ibid., vol 25, p 262.
- 10. Ibid., vol 48, p 13.
- 11. For more detail see "Gosudarstvennyy kapitalizm v stranakh Vostoka" [State Capitalism in the Oriental Countries], Moscow, 1960; Ekonomicheskaya politika i gosudarstvennyy kapitalizm v stranakh Vostoka" [Economic Policy and State Capitalism in the Oriental Countries], Moscow, 1972.

- 12. See, for example, G.I. Mirskiy, "Paths of Noncapitalist Development of the Liberated Countries," "Scientific Reports of the Higher School," FILOSOFSKIYE NAUKI No 6, 1962; V.F. Shipilova, "The Socioeconomic Nature of the State Sector of the Economy in the Liberated Countries Developing Along a Noncapitalist Path," "Proceedings of the Moscow Oblast Pedagogical Institute imeni N.K. Krupskaya," Works of the Department of CPSU History, vol 19, ed. II, 1967, p 367; R.A. Ul'yanovskiy, "Current Problems of Asia and Africa," p 190; K.N. Bruments, "Osvobudivshiyesya strany v 70-e gody" [The Liberated Countries in the 1970's], Moscow, 1979, p 53; S. Tyul'panov, "The Transitional Type of Society," MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No 1, 1979, p 146; O.D. Ul'rikh, "'Treciy mir's problemy razvitiya gosudarstvennogo sektora" [The Third World: Problems of the Development of the State Sector], Moscow, 1975, p 14; and V. Yashkin, "The State Servecture in a Multistructural Economy," AZIYA I APRIKA SEGODNYA No 3, 1979.
- 13. For more detail see Yu. N. Rozaliyev, "Problems of State Capitalism in the Developing Countries," VOPROSY ISTORII No 8, 1974, p 62.
- 14. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 296; vol 43, pp 158-159, 221-123; and vol 45, p 119.
- 15. Ibid., vol 45, p 227.
- 16. Ibid., p 216.
- See "Ekonomichomkaya rol' gosudarstva v ragvivayushchikhaya 17. [Economic Role of the State in the Developing Countries], Moscow, 1975; "Gosudaratvennyy sektor v stranakh Afriki" [The State Sector in African Countries], Moscow, 1976; "Role of the State Sector in the Developing Countries," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 12, 1977; V.P. Kolesov, "Gosudarstvennyy sektor ekonomiki razvivayushchikhaya stran" [The State Sector of the Economy of the Developing Countries], Moscow, 1977; Ye. A. Bragina, "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: gosudarstvennaya politika i promyshlennost' [The Developing Countries: State Policy and industry], Moscov, 1977; 1.1. Yegorov, "Gosudarstvennyy kapitalism v razvivayushcheysya ekonomike Indii" [State Capitalism in India's Developing Economy], Moscow, 1979; and others. In many works the authors devote a particularly great deal of attention precisely to quantitative indicators characterising the activity of the state sector, although this is by no means the main thing. Quantitative indicators (specific proportion of the state secto in the production of this product or the other, say) are always very provisional and approximate; they often cannot testify to the state sector's real role in the economy. This role (exercise of control over the prices of commodities in broad demand and the distribution of raw and auxiliary material, preferential credits for cooperation and so forth) may increase, for example, at a time of a reduction in the absolute amounts of state credit or their relative proportion of the total sum of credit transactions and in the share in the manufacture of output and similar indicators (or, the reverse). Data on the "role" of the state sector given mixed (state-private) types of enterprise, when the state's control of private capital requires, as a rule, less participation than for control under customary commercial conditions, are particularly provisional.

- 17. (cont'd) For ascertaining the role of state capitalism paramount importance is attached not so much to quantitative as to qualitative indicators (extension of control and regulation of private enterprise on the part of the state, introduction of planning principles in the economy, expansion of state purchases, organization of the centralized provision of the key industrial sectors with raw and auxiliary material and so forth).
- 18. See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 299.
- 19. See "Material of the 24th CPSU Congress," Moscow, 1971, p 18.
- 20. V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 36, p 296.
- 21. For more detail see Yu. N. Rozaliyev, "Singularities of the Development of Capitalism in Asian and African Countries," MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN' No 1, 1976.
- 22. For more detail see Yu.N. Rozaliyev, "The Big Capital and Monopolies of Turkey," "Krupnyy kapital 1 monopoli1 stran Vostoka" [The Big Capital and Monopolies of Oriental Countries], Moscow, 1970, pp 74-98; I. Bulen, "The Situation in Turkey," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 2, 1979, pp 25-26.
- 23. See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 34, p 162; vol 44, p 342; and vol 45, pp 279-380, 289.
- 24. For more detail see Yu. Rozaliyev, "Asia and Africa: Capitalism and Problems of a Socialist Orientation," PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA No 7, 1970.
- 25. There was a similar situation in Soviet Russia in 1920-1921. See V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," vol 43, pp 211-212.
- 26. Ibid., p 222.
- 27. Ibid., vol 45, p 289; vol 43, p 385.
- 28. V.I. Lenin wrote that "the bourgeois press constantly 'intimidates' the petty and middle owners to the effect that the socialists in general and the Bol'-sheviks in particular wish to 'expropriate' them: the assertion is knowingly false since the socialists do not wish, cannot and will not expropriate the petty peasants even given a total socialist change" (V.I. Lenin, "Complete Works," wol 34, pp 177-178.).

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INTERNATIONAL

INSTITUTE STUDIES PROBLEMS IN DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN SOCIETIES

Moscow NARODY AZIT I AFRIKI in Russian No 2, 1980 signed to press 17 Mar 80 pp 103-108

[G.B. Starushenko report: "The General and the Particular in the Development of African Countries"]

[Text] A meeting devoted to discussion of problems of the general and the particular in the development of African societies held in the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute (May 1979) touched on a number of fundamental questions constituting the subject of the debate being conducted in our journal: concerning the nature and singularities of the processes of class formation and the social-class structure of the developing countries, the level of formational development of these countries, the prospects of their evolution and the possibilities of their choice of development path under contemporary conditions and others. The scholars who spoke at the meeting noted the theoretical and practical significance of the problems under discussion.

L.V. Goncharov dwelt on problems of the study of multistructure. Noting that this phenomenon is inherent at certain stages of the historical development not only of Afro-Asian countries and pointing to the preservation of precapitalist forms of ownership and social relations in African countries, he emphasized that ascertainment of multistructure does not remove the question of African countries' membership of this socioeconomic formation or the other. Division of the developing world into countries of a socialist orientation and countries where a capitalist tendency prevails corresponds more to actual reality.

N.I. Gavrilov, V.V. Krylov, G.V. Smirnov, G.B. Starushenko, L.D. Yablochkov and others opposed the endeavor with the help of references to the "multistructural nature" of African societies to define them as "interformational" and belonging to no definite formation. N.I. Gavrilov also considers the term "interformational period," which has been introduced by certain authors, unwarranted. The coexistence of structures and multistructure is no reason, V.V. Krylov observed, to call a society "interformational"; any society is always unambiguous in its formational characteristics for it is not the fact of a multiplicity of structures but the nature of the system-forming (either leading or prevailing) structure which determines its appearance. Nor is there anything, V.V. Krylov believes, in the invention of "new" structures, in which certain specialists are at fault, the representation

some structure (capitalist, for example) in the form of several structures and the separation of all kinds of "cooperative," "statist" and other structures. Such ideas ensue, V.V. Krylov believes, from formal logical errors and from an erroneous interpretation of the propositions of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, in whose works the word "structure" is employed both as a synonym for "production method" in the political economy sense and as a general literary term to designate this national economic complex or the other.

An analysis of the specificity of the developing countries, G.V. Smirnov emphasized, should not lead to the action of general objective laws of the historical process, which extend in full to the Afro-Asian countries also, being ignored. Undue exaggration of the significance of multistructure for these countries' socioeconomic evolution could lead to notions of a "third path" of development.

In Africa, L.D. Yablochkov said, there are no societies without system-forming structures—this structure is either capitalist or has socialist elements—depending on the orientation of the state. As far as the capitalist structure in its various forms is concerned, there is here something fundamentally common despite all their differences (enterprises of foreign companies, of the state vector, of private national capital and so forth): exploitation of the working people occurs in accordance with the law of surplus value. With the development of capitalism a working class is formed—it represents a social unity, and it would be incorrect to "spread" it around "structural shelves."

- G.B. Starushenko observed that although the specifics of Asian and African countries do not impart to their development any intrinsic character exclusive to them, the singularities of their socioeconomic structure have an impact on political movements and structures. The level of development which has been reached, for example, prevents an immediate transition to socialism, and long transitional stages of capitalist development or evolution under the conditions of a socialist orientation are needed. Even the socialist states have been forced, in instances where a subsistence economy prevails in the country, to implement predominantly antesocialist transformations. For this reason, while opposing the undue exaggeration of the specifics of the developing countries, they cannot be ignored.
- M.I. Braginskiy believes that a prevailing structure has not yet essentially been defined anywhere in the countries of tropical Africa and that it is premature to speak of the victory of capitalist or socialist relations—we can only speak of the corresponding trends of socioeconomic development.
- Ye.A. Tarabrin devoted his speech to the impact of external factors on the formational development of African countries. The socialist countries are influencing the life of the liberated countries with their economic successes and political might and are assisting the progressive regimes. The imperialist powers are trying to weaken this progressive impact, utilizing for this the African countries' continued inclusion in the world system of the capitalist economy.
- N.D. Kosukhin spoke about the increased role of the middle urban strata under the conditions of the incompletion of the processes of class formation in African countries. He observed that this fact and also the change in the correlation of forces in the world in femrof socialism are contributing to the advancement of

revolutionary democrats to leading positions. African revolutionary democracy, the scholar believes, bears within it features of the era of the transition from an exploiter system to socialism, reflecting the important regularity of this erathe growth of national liberation revolutions into social revolutions and also the growing influence of world socialism and the international workers and communist movement.

R.N. Ismagilova characterized the significance of the archaic institutions and structures originating in the inmost recesses of family-tribal society for contemporary social and ethnic processes. She observed that embryonic class self-awareness coexists with the traditional philosophy of life and its prejudices and superstitions. At the same time the conservatism of mentality engendered by this phenomenon should not be exaggerated for it is developing, despite all the specific features thereof in African society, in the channel of the general regularities of man's history.

Problems of the conceptual apparatus connected with a study of African society and, in particular, the preservation therein of the vestiges of precapitalist formations were examined by V.A. Subbotin. Yu. N. Cherkasov dwelt on the difficulties being encountered by the progressive forces of African states in the implementation of socioeconomic transformations. He also touched on the struggle of the African states for a new order in international economic relations.

A number of speeches touched on questions of the ideological-political struggle between the social groupings taking shape in African countries. L.D. Yablochkov described the coming into being in the countries of a capitalist orientation of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie around which a coalition of conservative social-class forces is taking shape and the buildup of a coalition opposed to it—the nucleus of the opposition being workers, seasonal workers and paupers—it being joined by communal peasants, the petite bourgeoisie and the laboring intelligentsia. L.D. Yablochkov observed here that there is a common element in the philosophy of life of both coalitions—anticolonial nationalism. The role of the peasantry in the anti-imperialist struggle was illustrated by N.I. Gavrilov.

A.A. Kutsenkov (journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI) devoted his speech to methodological aspects of the problem of the general and the particular in the development of Afro-Asian countries. He observed that an abstract-theoretical approach still predominates in publications and speeches on this problem: the debate had made it possible to amplify key questions of the subject, and the participants' positions were defined in the course thereof. It is now very important to correlate these results with concrete-historical material, examine the situation that has come about in individual countries and specify the makeup of the disappearing and embryonic classes and social groups, the extent and forms of manifestation of secial-class conflicts. Internal and external factors of influence on the course of social-political development and the paths, forms and targets of this influence. A.A. Kuznetskov proposed that more attention be paid to studies of the personality level. It is ultimately precisely people and personalities which are the creators of history, they constiture the classes and social groups, and their interests and views suffuse social movements and ideologies with a definite specificity. By investigating the personality aspect of the social and ideological-political struggle it is possible,

A.A. Kutsenkov believes, to trace most fully the organic unity of diverse factorsof the basis and the superstructure--determining the direction and nature of social
development.

The results of the exchange of opinions were summed up by An.A. Gromyko, director of the USBR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute. He criticized the views of those scholars who see the specific features of oriental countries in their multistructural nature while not only a prevailing but a leading structure even is lacking, regard sultistructure as a historically stable phenomenon determining the essence of the period of transition from one social-economic formation to another and the "multistructural" society itself as being at an "interformational scage" and categorize the states which emerge at this stage as being of the "multistructural" (as distinct from capitalist and socialist) type. This formulation of the question, he said, irrespective of whether its supporters wish this or not and despite the fact that they avoid such wording, logically leads to the conclusion that some special formation has taken shape or is taking shape in the present developing society. This tendency is not new-An.A. Gromyko recalled in this connection the debate which had taken place in the past apropos an "Asian" method of production. The present discussion of the problem of multistructure, he emphasized, is being conducted within the framework of Marxist-Leninist theory; the debate under way among Soviet scholars is useful inasmuch as it is contributing to intensified study of the problems of the developing countries, including the African countries, and is stimulacing the investigation of a number of very urgent and important problems confronting the developing countries-food, internal accumulation, foreign financing, foreign trade relations and so forth, a tremendous amount of new statistical and documentary material has been put in scientific circulation and a number of interesting conclusions have been drawn. The study of the structures conducted by the supporters of the multistructure concept has made the picture of the developing world clearer and more detailed. The supporters of the "interformational stage" acknowledge the important role of external factors in the development of the liberated countries and emphasize that the objective possibility of the estabishment in Africa of a competing formation--capitalist or socialist -- is contained here.

As the exchange of opinions at the meeting showed, the majority of its participants believe that the current stage of the development of Asian and African countries is the final stage of a formation with its roots in the past or the initial period of a new formation which is being established and which is replacing it. The specific features of oriental and African countries are to be seen not in multistructure as such but in their stability, in particular, in the "vitality" of the subsistence and feudal structures. While the supporters of the first viewpoint deny the presence in these countries of a leading structure, the supporters of the second approach observe that even at the present time a capitalist structure is moving to the forefront here as the leading structure; at the same time it is emphasized that in countries where regime of a socialist orientation have emerged the development of the capitalist structure is restricted and subsequently halted (as, equally, the development of the feudal and primitive-communal structures), although this process is realized slowly. Thus it is not multistructure which determines the liberated countries' development prospects; however, the rate and methods of development in each of the two directions of social development possible in our time--toward socialism and toward capitalism-depend on it.

As a whole, the participants in the debate in the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, An. A. Gromyko continued, reached the following conclusions:

With the exceptionally strong influence of external factors on the liberated African countries, primarily the tremendous influence of the developed socialist countries, and also an entire complex of factors connected with the sciencific-technical revolution African societies, even the most backward of them, where patriarchal structures continue to play a big part, will hardly now have to negotiate in their development a faudal formation in its classical form. Only the capitalist and socialist structures in various versions are really capable of growing into leading and. even more, prevailing structures. Inasmuch as contemporary capitalism is not a progressive formation -- sucialism ultimately creates more favorable conditions for the development of the production forces and the solution of urgent social problems of the liberated countries -- the capitalist system is no longer capable of establishing itself firmly and for a prolonged period of time in Africa as a system providing for society's independent development. Capitalism is developing here in the form of the subordinate, dependent partner of rapacious foreign capital, as a rule. The African peoples' growing self-awareness will not be reconciled with this situation, and it is precisely here that there lies a most important prerequisite of a strengthening of the trend of a socialist orientation.

The idea of an "interformational stage," which provides grounds for its interpretation as an argument in support of the possibility of the existence of some "intermediate" social formation, is hardly theoretically correct and productive scientifically. The "interformational stage" concept, if taken to its logical conclusion, obscures the picture of the socioeconomic processes occurring in the developing countries.

Elements of capitalist (in the countries of a capitalist orientacion) or the prerequisites for the formation of socialist production relations (in the countries of
a socialist orientation) are only just taking shape on the African continent at present, and here lies the difficulty of the problem in question and its concrete analysis
in individual states.

Insofar as in our time the truly progressive direction of social development is socialism, and it can be built only with the participation and under the leadership of the working class and its party, it is precisely this class, however negligible its numbers may be today in many developing countries, which constitutes or will in the future constitute the nucleus of all the revolutionary forces. Naturally, the working class does not act in isolation but in alliance with other classes which are taking shape. Its strength is growing in Asia and Africa. The working class aspires to cooperation with the peasantry, which has as yet far from fully revealed its revolutionary potential, and also with the petite bourgeoisic and the progressive intelligentsia. The strengthening of the alliance of the working class and peasantry is a guarantee of further successes of the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa.

The activeness of the oriental peasantry is also growing: despite the entire specificity of Asian and African conditions, it would be wrong to underestimate its political potential. "Today," L.I. Brezhnev points out, "the central question of

the revolutionary process in Asia and Africa is that of the position of the peasantry, which constitutes the majority of the population there."* The petite bourgeoisie also performs a definite progressive role in Africa.

Revolutionary democrats representing the nucleus of progressive forces in many countries are capable, although this will occur in a complex and difficult struggle, of heading the struggle for a reorientation of development in a direction leading toward socialism. The revolutionary democratic and vanguard parties of the working people and the progressive states oriented toward socialism are playing a most important part here.

In view of the incompletion of the process of class formation in many African countries, the state-political superstructure here has a particularly high degree of independence. However, this by no means signifies that a state of any type may be created in these countries in the twinkling of an eye and, even less, that it may immediately secure social transformations of any nature. The state of a society in which the main formational processes are not yet fully completed is reflected most directly in the state-political superstructure. To answer the question of the potential of a state in Africa it is necessary to proceed not only from the direction in which a given state power intends to orient social development but also from the kind of society from which this development has to begin. The approach enables us to determine in scientifically substantiated manner the prospects of social orientation, the social function and nature of this state power or the other, the problems which it is capable of solving and the rate and forms of their solution.

The low level of development of the production forces and class differentiation of society in the countries of tropical Africa predetermine the nature of the social and economic tasks which may be accomplished in these countries for the present. The countries oriented toward socialism undertake antesocialist transformations at this stage. Even in the countries of a capitalist orientation development has not yet acquired a purely capitalist nature, and various social turnabouts are possible there. "The social structure of a society and power," V.I. Lanin wrote, "is characterized by changes without an understanding of which not a single step may be taken in any sphere of social activity whatever. The question of the prospects, meaning by this, of course, not idle guesses concerning that which no one knows, but the principal trends of economic and political development—the trends the resultant force of which determines a country's immediate future—depends on a comprehension of these changes.**

Scholars of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, An. A. Gromyko went on to say, are studying the processes of class formation in direct connection with a determination of the paths and nature of the development of African countries. Their research shows that the significance of internal factors of development is growing and the role of local classes and social groups in the struggle for the choice of

^{*}L.I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim kursom" [Along Lenin's Course], Moscow, 1973, vol 2, p 386.

^{**}V.I. Lenin, "Poln. sobr. soch." [Complete Works], vol 20, p 186.

direction of social evolution and the accomplishment of a social and, particularly, national-democratic revolution is increasing in these countries at the present time. It is precisely internal forces which are determining the direction of social development. Under the present favorable international conditions, when there has been an incomparable increase in the influence of the socialist community countries on world development, the liberated countries may, as a result of internal processes, independently embark on the path of a socialist orientation. However, the influence of external factors on the development of the Afro-Asian countries is also great today, and they can only achieve the final goal of a socialist orientation—building a socialist society—in cooperation with the socialist states.*

Soviet Af.ican specialists, An.A. Gromyko emphasized in conclusion, are devoting great attention both to an investigation of the social structure of individual countries and to the study of the general regularities of their development and also to methodological questions of this investigation; this is enabling them to comprehend in greater depth the trends and prospects of social development on the African continent.

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^{*}See, for example, "Afrika v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniyakh" [Africa in International Relations], Moscow, 1970.

FURTHER DISCUSSION OF PRIVATE PLOTS IN MEAT, DAIRY PRODUCTION

Feeding of Kolkhoz Livestock

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent V. Ovcharov, Chuvash ASSR: "Bull-Calf at the Farmstead"]

[Text] Is it possible to increase the number of animals being fattened for meat without building new production facilities? The answer to this question, it would seem, is obvious: if all the reserves of those facilities are exhausted, then of course not! And yet, on the Chuvash Leninskaya Iskra Kolknoz that question has been answered in the affirmative. Other than special construction that opens up new opportunities on the main line for the development of animal husbandry, this is the fifth year that that kolkhoz has been raising and fattening for meat approximately an additional 600 bull-calves. Each bull-calf, moreover, is sold to the state in only the highest category of fattening.

On the Leninskaya Iskra Kolkhoz, some of the young animals were sold to those peasants who began fattening them up at home. For them, fattening at home gives them a substantial additional income, and the kolkhoz obtains the opportunity, with comparatively small material and labor expenditures, to increase the production of valuable products of animal husbandry.

The idea of combining the efforts of social and personal management for the production of a greater amount of meat was born on the kolkhoz, so to speak, under the pressure of economic circumstances of a local scale. At that time Leninskaya lakra was consolicated. The united farms did not have any large production capacities. The administrators of the farm were faced with the very complex question that was posed at the beginning of this article.

In a search for an answer to that question, the board of governors decided to enter into contractual relations with the kolkhoz members, pensioners, and housewives. They would be given feeds and fodders, and would also be provided with pasturage areas. As for the base, every peasant -- regardless of which of the 14 kolkhoz villages you looked at -- had all the prerequisites: a courtyard and a warm shed. And also, during the winter, a sufficient amount of free time.

They began making computations. According to the most modest estimates, it turned out that in 1 year it would be possible by this means to fatten up a

minimum of 400 animals. That was a substantial increase. Especially if one considers that, other than feeds and fodders, that increase would require practically nothing from the 'colkhoz. However, would the kolkhoz members agree to that? Would the pensioners and housewives be willing to do it?

Emissaries of the kolkhoz board of governors made trips to the individual households. The people took an understanding attitude toward the proposal. And it was that, as the chairman of Leninskaya Iskra, Arkadiy Pavlovich Aydak, is convinced, which determined the further success of the undertaking.

During the first year the kolkhoz members accepted 206 bull-celves for lattening; in the second, 228; and in the third and fourth, respectively, 346 and 361. Those figures are doubled if one considers the bull-calves of "strictly household origin," which are fattened on the basis of an understanding with the kolkhozes for the social management. But even without that it is obvious that both the kolkhoz and the kolkhoz members found that system of economic cooperation to be mutually advantageous.

What specific benefits, then, does the system provide to the kolkhoz?

As of 1 October 1980, peasant households were fattening a total of approximately 600 bull-calves for the kolkhoz. The maintenance of such a number of head of livestock on the social farm would require three calf-houses — obviously, heated ones. The estimated cost of one building of this type, together with the expenses of surveying and providing it with the necessary amenities, is 120,000-130,000 rubles. Consequently, three of them would cost 360,000-390,000 rubles.

That's a pretty large amount of money. And to it one must add the annual depreciation expenses. Of course, one could do without the standard plans, and build wooden calf-houses, rather than ones made of reinforced concrete. But even in this instance it would take no less than 100,000 rubles.

Let's go a little farther. As confirmed by the kolkhoz economists, in order to fatten 600 calves, take care of them, and maintain the facilities, it would take 30 workers. With an average monthly salary of 150 rubles — at the present time animal husbandrymen do not earn less — that is an additional 54,000 rubles of wage fund. But, I would like to note, it is not just a matter of money. The complication lies elsewhere: where would one find the people?

It cannot be said that as of today there has been a particular shortage of manpower in the Chuvash rural areas. Young people still remain in their nometowns, they go into agricultural production, etc. Nevertheless the social processes that are typical of the other areas of Russia can be felt more and more sensitively here, and it is not such a simple thing to find 30 pairs of working hands.

On the other hand, however paradoxical this may sound, in the modern rural areas the rise in the overall standard of living was accompanied by the formation of considerable labor resources, which are being little used, or not used at all, in social production. We are referring first of all to kolkhoz pensioners, housewives, and schoolchildren in the upper classes. Formerly, with the active operation of

the personal plot, they worked on their own piece of land. How many of them do not have anything to do.

For the purpose of convenience in making settlements and increasing the responsibility borne for fattening the livestock, the people on the Leninskaya lakra Kolkhoz
developed the following form of interaction with the private peasant plot. The
new-borne bull-calves are not given out to the kolkhoz members to be raised and
fattened. Rather, they are sold: at the rate of 1.30 rubles per kilogram of
weight. Obviously, with the mandatory condition that after they have been
fattened to a minimum of 300 kilograms, they will be sold to the kolkhoz. On the
basis of this understanding, the kolkhoz issues feeds and fodders free of charge,
assigns pasturage areas, provides veterinary and zootechnical services, and
pledges to buy the fattened livestock at the rate of two rubles per kilogram of
weight.

When the beef that has been produced in this manner is sold to the state, the kolkhoz treasury gets 67 kopecks of profit for every kilogram. Plus the corresponding markups on increased rates of fattening as a result, with a turnover weight or more than 400 kilograms, every bull-calf that is sold guarantees 306 rubles of clear profit.

And what about the kolkhos members? What benefits do they receive?

Those who were the first to evaluate the merits of the cooperation included kolkhoz pensioner Filipp Dmitriyevich Filippov. At the present time there are two bull-calves in his shed. One has already reached the "sale" weight, and the other "will get there" in about a month. Filipp Dmitriyevich plans to get 1300 rubles for them. When the previously paid 150 rubles are deducted, his net earnings will be 1150 rubles.

I do not want anyone to get the idea that there is no longer any need for the kolkhoz to engage in capital construction. It is still necessary to have that construction. On the Leninskaya Iskra Kolkhoz the people are well aware that the raising and fattening of livestock on personal plots is an additional measure that makes it possible to obtain more animal-husbandry ouput, without waiting for the construction of large-scale animal-husbandry complexes. This is a method of increasing the production of beef during the period of construction. On the Leninskaya Iskra Kolkhoz it makes sense to take advantage of this method. Thus, during the years of involvement of the personal peasant plot in the production of additional meat there has been constructed here, in the full sense of the word, a modern animal-husbandry complex accommodating 1200 head of livestock.

Volynskaya Oblast Report

Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 19 Oct 80 p 3

[Article, RATAU [Ukrainian News Agency]: "Benefits of Cooperation"]

[Text] Approximately 400 head of cattle, which yielded almost half the beef sold from the beginning of the year by the Kolkhoz imeni XXV S"yezd KPSS, Gorokhovskiy Rayon, were fattened on the personal plots run by rural workers. As on most of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Volynya, one observes in animal husbandry here the

smoothly organized cooperation between social production and private-plot production, the basis of which is formed by the contractual system. The farm buys from the kolkhoz members, employees, and pensioners calves weighing 40 kilograms or more, but does not transfer them to the animal farm. Instead, it leaves the animals with the owner who, on the basis of the concluded agreement, pledges to fatten the animal to a weight of 350-400 kilograms and to sell it to the kolkhoz at a firm purchase price. The social management, in its turn, helps the partner with feeds and fodders for the livestock, assigns pasturage and hay-mowing areas, and provides for scoveterinarian inspection of the animals. The contract provides for the payment of the labor involved in caring for the livestock included in the cooperative system, and increased monetary payment is made for animals conforming to high weight specifications.

This integration, which combines the interests of social production and the private plot worked by the rural inhabitant, is mutually beneficial: the kolkhos or sovkhoz, without expenditures for the construction of additional animal-husbandry facilities, or for the purchase of equipment, has a considerable increase in the production of mast, and the population no longer has to worry about feeds and fodders, and also gets a rather nice income. During the current year alone, the oblast's kolkhozes and sovkhozes concluded more than 80,000 contracts with individual owners of cattle. Twenty-six thousand animals have been taken off of fattening already on the basis of these contracts.

The organization of livestock fattening on contractual principles in cooperation with the population became the subject of study at a republic-level conference-seminar that was held in Lutek. The First Secretary of the Volynskaya Oblast party committee, L. [Palazhchenko, and the First Deputy Minister of Agriculture, Ukrainian SBR, A.]. Towatanovskiy, spoke at that seminar.

The seminar participants shared their experience, discussed the measures simed at getting the broad involvement of rural inhabitants in the system of cooperation with the kolkhozes and soukhozes, and visited a number of the best farms in Volynya.

Employment for Rural Pensioners

Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 80 p 2

iLetter to the editor by "a group of pensioners in the city of Kalininsk":
D. Likhachev, N. Savin, P. Semidetchenko, N. Kubrakova, S. Kitastyy, V. Azaulkenko, N. Lyashenko, V. Tupikov; Saratovskaya Oblast: "An Association of Pensioners Is Beneficial (Labor Veterans Can Make Their Contribution to increasing the Production of Heat, Honey, Vegetables, and Other Produce)"]

[Text] We have decided, through IZVESTIYA, to raise a question which, in our opinion, is undoubtedly of great social importance.

Our hometown of Kalininsk is a worker city. Representatives of the most varied occupations and specialties work here — rubber workers, construction workers, repair vorkers, physicians, teachers. And we also, in our day, worked actively in the sphere of social production and services. But then we were pensioned, and now we are taking a well-deserved rest.

Well, age has its privileges. That may be so. And yet no one of us wants to sit around doing nothing: instead we rush around here and there, around the house, outside the house, looking for some work that we are capable of doing. Absolute idleness is, after al', no rest. Instead, it is punishment for those who have been accustomed to working all their lives. Yes, placing our hands on our hearts, we will say something else: a very, very large number of us veterans still have quite a bit of energy and strength. We can still cut the mustard! In our city of Kalininsk alone there are approximately 3000 pensioners who left work because of their age but probably a good half of them are still strong enough to engage in socially useful labor. And, what is most important, they themselves want to do this.

For example, many of us labor veterans would like to use our hands, experience, and knowledge in making our contribution to increasing the production of agricultural produce.

So this is the idea that we have come up with. Imagine a group of city-dweller pensioners -- it might be 20 of them, or 30 of them, we won't give any recipes -- on strictly voluntary principles creating a production association that engages in the breeding of hoge, rabbits, or poultry, or maybe also in beekeeping and vegetable growing.

How could this be carried out in the practical situation? In response to our request, the state bank grants us the necessary credit to set up the farm, purchase the farm equipment, the pure-bred young animals, and the other needs. Then, on a small plot of land that has been given to us, we create our farm — with the rights and privileges of a voluntary association. And we are convinced that we will pay back the expenditures.

We do not think of our farm as being some kind of industrial giant. It will be a simple production entity of modern scale, which would be easy to set up. Farms like this could be created without any particular problems in practically all the cities, large and small. Because there are tens of millions of us people of pension age throughout the country. It will be work that has economic benefit, but also spiritual benefit.

But first it will be necessary to make contracts. Since our association will be of a strictly voluntary and independent nature, it seems to us that it will produce outfit for its own needs, and the extra production -- and that extra production will undoubtedly appear -- will be sold on the market or through a consumer cooperative. Thus we will not only provide ourselves and the members of our families with the necessary foodstuffs, but will also help the urban populace to enrich their table.

In our opinion, the association of pensioners can bring benefit to everyone, and that's the most important thing!

Of course we realize that the creation of such production collectives is an extremely complicated thing. It will require the practical resolution of many serious questions: organizational, financial, legal, technological, and even psychological. But these problems, which always accompany any new situation, are completely soluble.

First of all, we have the desire to undertake the work energe ically, to get really involved in socially useful labor. Among the veterars -- and this is of no small importance -- there are very experienced people: scotechnicians, agronomists, mechanisers, construction workers, economists, and organizers of production. That is what we have in our small city, a rural rayen center. We have not lost our ties with the land and we know a thing or two about running a farm. For example, many of us pensioners love to breed rabbits, and to engage in beckeeping. True, we must stipulate right away that, for the time oping, each of us is operating on an individual basis, or, one might even say, on a handicrafts basis, and therefore the results haven't been high. But an association would be a different thing. One could achieve comparatively higher results in an association.

People might ask: but what will we use to feed the hogs, rabbits, and poultry? It's a good question, but we feel that it a completely soluble one if one takes a proper approach to it. Suffice it to state that in our city the apartment houses, kindergartens and day-care centers, hospitals, dining halls, and snack bars throw out, we can estimate without any stipulations, approximately 20-25 tons of waste food. And that is a considerable reserve. Incidentally, so far as we know, the situation is the same in other cities: the waste food is basically not used. But we members of the association, we pensioners, on the contrary, would be able with exceptional self-interestedness go around the city collecting that very valuable fodder and put it to use so that it could turn into tons and tons of meat.

But that is not all. We could painstakingly mow the grassy parts of the forests and natural mesdows where a tremendous amount of excellent grass is going to waste every year.

Or, take, for example, the growing of ducks, something on which we are also placing our hopes. The Balanda stream would be a great mainstay for this, and so it is on the bank of this stream that we would like to create our association's farm.

Another circumstance is important. In our association we would not only engage in the production of agricultural produce, but would also be getting excellent recreation.

Putfing it succinctly, we feel that it would be a good idea for us prostoners to think a little bit about the best ways in which to begin this new and important job, and in which to set it up and run it most efficiently. At the same time we feel that just wanting to do it is not enough. We need effective aid and support from the local agencies

\$075 CSO: 1800 CULTURAL FACILITIES IMPROVED TO KEEP WORKERS IN RURAL AREAS

Moscov SOVETSKAYA KUL'TURA in Russian 19 Sep 80 p 2

[Article by T. Abakumovskaya and V. Novikov: "Not Paperwork, But Deeds"]

[Text] Viktor Alekaandrovich Artimenya has been cautious for some time now. Whereas the "Rassvet" chairman was in years past happy to get any specialist, today he captiously weighs and determines "to the n-th degree" both the business and the moral qualities of every newcomer applying for admittance to the kolkhor. There seem to be both a housing reserve and vacancies, but the chairman and the board are in no hurry and select reliable people who will probably be able to make a contribution of their own to both the economy and the spiritual life of the kolkhoz.

This seems clear enough with regard to the economy, although each year is different, but it is harder to create an environment which will influence people's spiritual life. Nonetheless, "Rassvet" kolkhoz is doing a great deal in this area. In the current (ive-year plan alone, more than 2.5 million rubles has been invested here in the construction of social and cultural facilities. A modern housing development consisting of 90 apartments with all conveniences has arisen in the central farmstead, as have a rural House of Culture with a hall seating 300 and with a rich collection of premises for use by circles, a library, a Personal Services House, a hotel, baths, a children's day nursery and kindergarten, a secondary school, stores and a restaurant.

All this taken together comes under the rather precise and broad heading of "socio-cultural complex." Such a multifunctional association, concentrating the funds and efforts of various departments and organizations — cultural and public education institutions, personal-services enterprises, trade, public catering, public health and sports — opens up bright prospects for more fully meeting the social and cultural needs of the population. It was for good reason that participants in the All-Union Seminar-Conference of Culture Workers which was held several days ago in Minsk focused particular attention on the activity of such sociocultural complexes.

The modern village has available to it broad cultural potentiel: hundreds of thousands of clubs, libraries, movie facilities, music and art schools are operated in rural areas. Nonetheless, sociological research shows that about half the residents surveyed by questionnaire in rural regions give a negative evaluation of the activity of cultural and educational institutions.

Incidentally, that is not surprising. During the Ninth and 10th five-year plans, the educational and scientific-technical level of the rural population rose significantly. Whereas the number of people with higher or secondary educations rose by

22 percent during that period in urban areas, the figure was 48 percent in rural areas. A rise in educational level naturally entails change in the level of spiritual needs as well. It is for good reason that one in every three persons leaving rural areas includes among the primary reasons for his departure dissatisfaction with the organization of cultural services and boredom with everyday rural life.

In order to solve the problems of rural social and cultural development, we obviously need some sort of new forms of activity of cultural institutions which differ from previous forms. Life suggests these forms and ways of approaching cultural and educational work in a fundamentally new way. They are: centralize the club systems and create cultural complexes. Upwards of 6,000 such systems and more than 2,000 complexes are already in operation in the country today. Practice shows that where they have been organized, club work has become more interesting, diverse and substantive.

Centralization is a multifaceted process. Based on local conditions and concrete circumstances, party and soviet agencies work out different forms of such associations. In the Russian Federation, for example, a system which unites under the aegis of a lead House of Culture kolkhoz brigade clubs and red corners is widespread; in the Ukraine, cultural complexes include music schools, museums and libraries; Belorussia has gone further, creating sociocultural complexes of the type mentioned at the start of these remarks within the framework of a single farm.

No matter what the variants of centralization of rural cultural and mass-education institutions and combining them with other social services in the modern village, it is already quite clear that the correct directions of further cultural development in rural areas are to be found in concentrating and consolidating different organizations, in the comprehensive resolution of problems of people's ideological, moral and aesthetic development. And it is not just a matter of growth in the quantitative indicators of club activity, although they naturally do testify to a burgeoning interest among various categories of residents in rural centers of culture. The main thing is that, by better coordinating the actions of club institutions and by combining the cadres and material means of local Soviets and farm allocations for sociocultural needs, it becomes possible to significantly strengthen the material base and cadres of rural cultural institutions and to sharply improve the quality and effectiveness of cultural services to laborers in our countryside.

It is interesting that, during the course of an experimental check of the viability and promise of the concept of centralization which was made in a number of RSFSR oblasts, the prestige of the occupation of rural culture workers had risen appreciably and, particularly important, that young people were being attracted to them. Thus, 13 people are now studying at the culture institute and 58 are studying at the culture and mass-education school in Kuyedinskiy Rayon, Permskaya Oblast. Speaking before seminar-conference participants, Hero of Socialist Labor Kuz'ma Ivanovich Shaplyko, chairman of "Chyrvonaya Zmena" kolkhoz in Belorussia, seid that time itself insistently demands the introduction on kolkhozes of the position of deputy chairman for culture. In connection with the continuous growth in and expansion of the sphere of influence of sociocultural potential in Uzbekistan, kolkhoz deputy chairmen for culture and sovkhoz culture and personal services directors have been working there for several years now.

Of course, the creation of centralized club systems and cultural or sociocultural complexes in rural areas is not a quick campaign carried out by Jirectives. It demands a serious analytical approach, with consideration of local conditions, and

most importantly, persistent, thoughtful, planned organizational work. For example, one cannot dismiss the fact that the centralization process in that same Latvia is complicated by the fact that a majority of republic farms have only one or two clubs, or the fact that on Kazakhstan sovkhozes, with their tremendous size, the clubs are very far from one another, which makes it difficult for them to keep in contact with one another.

At the same time, it must sadly be noted that the rural club centralization process and the formation of cultural complexes have thus far proceded circumspectly, slowly and timidly. The leaders of culture ministries and local culture administrations evidently do not always have the proper persistence and conviction, initiative or creative attitude towards resolving these extremely important questions. This work has thus far been done poorly in Kirgizia, Tadzhikistan and certain autonomous republics and oblasts of the Russian Federation. In Azerbaijan, there are about 1,300 kolkhozes and sovkhozes, but only 13 have club systems. In Georgia, there are five centralized systems on 1,150 farms, and there are none at all in Armenia and Turkmenia. The centralization process is going extremely slowly in rural club institutions subordinate to the trade unions — over the five years for which management has been restructured, only slightly more than 300 centralized club systems have been created by sovkhoz worker committees. And that is nationwide!

One retarding factor largely explaining this local timidness and slowness would seem to be the incomprehensible and unjustifiable sluggishness of the USSR Ministry of Culture and AUCCTU in working out normative documents determining the organizational, legal and financial aspects of the activity of centralized club systems, and especially of cultural complexes. Provisions on the Rural Centralized Club System were only approved on the eve of the Minsk seminar-conference, after a long period of trying to reach agreement among central financial, labor and agricultural agencies, and Provisions on the Cultural Complex have not been approved yet. They are in draft form (five years after such associations began appearing!) and need major adjustments and polishing. Such "energy" naturally makes it harder to restructure the administration of rural cultural and mass-education institutions and makes it somehow non-mandatory and debatable.

At the same time, this restructuring, being done in conformity w'th the famous CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Steps to Further Develop Independent Artistic Creativity," has been proven to have very perceptible and useful results. Where they are being operated actively and competently, these centralized club systems, cultural and sociocultural complexes have been transformed into a very important support for rural party and soviet, trade-union and Komsomol organization; and to economic leaders in their everyday ideological-political, labor, moral and aesthetic education work with laborers and the next generation of laborers. The new associations have been given a real opportunity to help the labor collectives solve concrete production tasks in fact, rather than improving on paper the forms and methods of cultural and mass-education work and increasing the professional skills of cultural workers themselves, to actually improve cultural services to the rural population, organize reasonable leisure and valuable recreation for kolkhoz members, sovkhoz workers and employees and their families. These associations have already done quite a bit. They are faced with doing even more in preparing for the 26th Party Congress, which will become for each of them a serious test of their maturity and effectiveness.

... In Omovets village, the central farmstead of "Rassvet" kolkhoz, wisely led by Viktor Aleksandrovich Artimenya, a circumspect individual but one who unquestionably

believes in the strength of his sociocultural complex as one of the best in Minskaya Oblast, there is a unique monument. In a circular brick enclosure is an enormous hollow oak stump it would take three adults to circle, arms outstretched. Old timers in the village claim the tree was 200 or 300 years old. During the first year of guerilla activity, when the Hitlerites bombed Osovets trying to eradicate the recalcitrant and unconquerable Belorussian villages from the face of the earth, several incendiary bombs fell on the dense crown of this patriarch and the beautiful oak burned. For four unbearably long years, it stretched its terribly charred limbs heavenward and on Victory Day in the spring of 1945, those villagers who had survived cut off the deformed trunk and put an acorn in the base. A shoot poked out from that acorn, then the first tender leaves spurted out, and a young oak rooted in the old great one began rising from its stump.

Thirty-five years have passed since then. The village of Osovets has been reborn on the site of several adobe cottages left by the war. In its canter is a square blazing with flower beds and bordered by modern architecture in the form of bright buildings with wide windows: the rural soviet and House of Personal Services, the culture and trade center, the kindergarten and day nursery, and the house of specialists. And in the center of the square is a mature oak rising from all old stump. An oak planted by the hands of Belorussian guerillas so that life would go on. The wind rustles the leaves in its branchy crown, and in the fall, the oak strews the ground around it with smooth, hard acorns, like river pebbles. All together, Osovets residents have raised their village from the ruins. All together they have raised up its economy. All together they have raised up its culture. Just so. All together.

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BOOK DISCUSSES TRAINING CADRES FROM OTHER REPUBLICS IN THE RSFSR

Moscow Problemy Nauchnogo Kommunizma. Referativnyy zhurnal. Obshchestvennyye Nauki v SSSR. Seriya 1. in Russian No 3, 1980 pp 150-156

[Review by V.D. Grishchenko of the book "Tvorcheskoye sotrudnichestvo narodov SSSR" [The Creative Collaboration of the Peoples of the USSR], Mysl', Moscow, 1979, 215 pages]

[Text] The book contains an introduction, six chapters and a conclusion.

he author singles out and examines on the basis of concrete material the following two aspects of the topic: Mutual assistance among the Soviet republics in training highly qualified members of the national intelligentsia during the period 1966-67 and the intensification of collaboration among national groups of Soviet intelligentsia in the areas of science, technology and the arts and in the matter of providing the workers with a communist education.

In the first chapter, "The Soviet Intelligentsia and Its National Cadres on a New Frontier," the very concept of "the intelligentsia" is examined. An analysis of approximately 120 of the most representative sources beginning with 1918 has brought to the fore more than 40 definitions of the intelligentsia by Soviet researchers. The author concludes that the concept "intelligentsia" is extended to include "first, workers who have a secondary specialized or higher education and are professionally engaged in mental work; second, "practical workers" without any corresponding education who are engaged primarily in mental work; and third, nonspecialist employees who are engaged in service work that demands few qualifications but is primarily mental in nature (p 18).

The second chapter is entitled "Mutual Assistance Among the Soviet Republics in Training Highly Qualified Specialists Through the System of Higher Educational Institutions." At present the all-union task is to achieve collaboration and mutual assistance among the republics in training personnel through the maximal utilization of the entire nation's VUZ system. For example, there is no need to open departments in new areas of specialization in the VUZs of a given republic if the nation-wide personnel needs of the union republics and state as a whole can be met by effectively utilizing the facilities of existing VUZs.

The Russian Federation and the Ukraine occupy the leading position in rendering assistance to the sister republics in the training of personnel. Thus, in 1967-1976, according to plan more than 24,700, i.e. more than 64 percent of the 38,306 noncompetitive places in the VUZs under the RSFSR Minvuz [Ministry or Higher and Secondary Specialized Education], were reserved for young people from the union republics.

In addition, 2,780 or 85 percent of the 3,252 moncompetitive places in the VUZs directly subordinate to the union ministry were also allocated to the sister republica. The remaining noncompetitive positions -- 36 percent in RSFSR republic jurisdiction VUZs and 15 percent in union jurisdiction VUZs--were designated for youth from the autonomous republics, oblasts and okrugs of the Russian Federation (p 43). Approximately 5,600 persons were admitted to Ukrainian VUZs in 1967-1976 under like conditions. The most assistance was given to the Moldavians. For example, the plan called for 1,919 Moldavians to be admitted to the VUZs of the Ukraine, 606 to those of Belorussia, 795 to those of Uzbekistan, 624 to the VUZs of Turkmenia, more than 510 to those of Kazakhstan, approximately 560 to those of Kirghizia, more than 982 to the VUZs of Azerbaijan, etc. From the RSFSR, 34 representatives of the indigenous nationalities of a number of autonomous republics and from the Karachayevo-Cherkasskaya Autonomous Oblast entered Ukrainian VUZs (p 47). In turn all the union republics helped the less numerous peoples of the RSFSR in training national cadres under preferential conditions. The plan also stipulated that almost 240 persons from the Ukrainian SSR be admitted during 1967-1976 to Russian Federation VUZs on a noncompetitive basis.

The conditions of mature socialism engendered a new form of mutual assistance among the union republics: The training of specialists with higher education on a cooperative basis. This new form of mutual assistance has been in effect since 1964, in the following areas of the country: The Transcaucasus (Georgian, Armenian and Azerbaijan SSRs), the Baltic (Estonian, Lithuanian and Latvian SSRs), Central Asia and Kazakhstan (Uzbek, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen and Kazakh SSRs).

The plan for the cooperative training of specialists in the VUZs was writed out on the basis of proposals previously agreed upon by the ministries of higher secondary specialized (public) education of the union republics. Selection and assignment of candidates to VUZs of other republics for study within the cooperative training system have been carried out in complete conformity with the rules for accepting to the VUZs those persons who passed entrance examinations and won competitive placements in VUZs of a given union republic but wished to study in the VUZs of another union republic.

The Kazakh SSR and the republics of Central Asia have accumulated a great deal of experience in this matter. According to the plan for the cooperative training of specialists, 3,071 persons were scheduled to study during 1966-1977 in the VUZs of this area. The VUZs of Uzbekistan trained 1,316 specialists for other republics during these years, and the VUZs of Kirghizia, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenia in turn trained 958 specialists for the Uzbek SSR (p 50).

Since 1969, the VUZs all over the country have been organizing preparatory departments. Young people from the indigenous nationalities of the sister republics have been sent annually to these departments in accordance with the general requirements for department students. In other words, the same principle has operated here as in the case of noncompetitive admittance to the first course. The higher educational institutions of the Russian Federation and the Ukraine have made an exceptionally large contribution in this area as well.

In accordance with the admissions plan for the preparatory departments of the VUZs for the period 1970-1977, 4,343 places throughout the USSR were allotted to persons from the indigenous nationalities of the union republics. The overall number of places allotted for these purposes during 1970-1976 was distributed among the country's

VUZs in the following way: More than 2,630 places or 70 percent went to RSFSR VUZs subordinate to the republic, 360 places to VUZs under the jurisdiction of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education, 494 places to Ukrainian VUZs and 232 places to VUZs of other union republics (p 53).

The training of Russian language and literature teachers for the national schools occupies a special place in the area of mutual assistance and collaboration among the union republics. During the 1977-1978 school year, the training of teachers for national schools took place in 65 universities and 94 pedagogical VUZs. The overall student body in this program comprised approximately 200,000 persons, including 47,000 in the universities and 152,000 in pedagogical institutes (p 56).

The main burden of training Russian language and literature teachers for the national schools fell upon the two largest union republics—the Russian Federation and the Ukraine. During the period 1971-1978, the training of Russian language and literature specialists for the national schools was carried out by 10 universities and 10 pedagogical VUZs of the RSFSR and by 12 pedagogical VUZs of the Ukraine which, according to plan, accepted 920 persons for study annually from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia, Tajikistan and Turkmenia (p 57).

At the present time the quality of Russian language and literature teachers has not reached the desired level. During the 1977-1978 school year, Russian language and literature were taught by 327,500 teachers, of whom only 278,000 or 85.1 percent had completed their higher education. In the middle segment of the general school Russian was being taught by 20,000 teachers without proper qualifications; of these, approximately 17,300 were in rural schools. In some of the republics these indicators were lower than the mean for the USSR.

in the area of higher education, dispatching of scholars to the VUZs to give lectures and to organize scientific-research and ideological training projects occupies an important place in the collaboration and mutual assistance program of the union republics. Actually all the union republics resort to this type of collaboration and mutual assistance, and it is both national and planned.

The third chapter, which deals with the collaboration of the union republics in training and forming national cadres in the areas of science, literature and art, notes ir particular that during the Minth Five-Year Plan practically all of the republic academies collaborated in training cadres of young scholars. For example, the graduate division of the Ukrainian SSR Academy of Sciences trained scientific associates for nine union republic academies of sciences (those of the Uzbek, Moldavian, Azerbaijan, Turkmen, Kazakh, Tajik, Kirghiz, Armenian and Lithuanian SSRs); the graduate division of the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences, for five academies of sciences (the Tajik, Azerbaijan, Kirghiz, Holdavian and Uzbek); the graduate division of the Holdavian SSR Academy of Sciences, for three academies of sciences (Armenian, Azerbaijan and Georgian); the graduate division of the Kazakh Academy of Sciences, for three academies of sciences (Kirghiz, Tajik and Uzbek); the graduate division of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences, for two (Kazakh and Kirghiz) etc. (p 72). The author emphasizes that although the degree of participation of the republic academies in training young scientific cadres has not been uniform, the very process of their collaboration and mutual assistance in this area has been distinguished by a higher degree of maturity and scope.

The fourth chapter presents the development of various forms of interrepublic collaboration in the area of science and technology. The author brings out certain features in the evolution of the network of the USSR's scientific research institutions. Until the early sixties the trend in the development of national bodies of Soviet science was characterized by the transformation of republic branches of the USSR Academy of Sciences into republic scientific staffs and by the organization of collaboration among these bodies; during this process the quantitative growth of new centers of science outstripped the practical results attained. The creation of new centers of science and education built upon developed socialism is continuing on an even broader scale; however, this process is taking place under qualitatively new conditions, as though it were bypassing the initial stage of building up its potential. The republic, academy, branch and VUZ centers formed during earlier years have acquired a great deal of experience and have called attention to themselves by some significant achievements and through stable overall results at a rather high level.

In the fifth chapter the author cites numerous examples from literature, cinematography, the theater, painting, sculpture and music to show the intensification of interrepublic collaboration in the area of the fine arts. He notes that "the present-day development of national languages is characterized by two interrelated dialectic tendencies: The continued development of national languages based on mutual enrichment, the appearance of new literary languages as a consequence of the cultural progress of all nations and nationalities of the USSR and an ever expanding use of Russian as the means of contact and communication and as the medium for the assimilation of new pan-Soviet cultural traditions" (p 141).

The sixth and last chapter of the book is entitled "The Growing Role of the Multinational Soviet Intelligentsia in Forming a Marxist-Leninist World View /mong the Workers, in Educating Man in a Communist Society and in Strengthening the Brotherly Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR." In examining this question the author singles out three basic lines:

First, direct participation in creating material wealth and in organizing social production (the industrial, administrative and scientific-technical intelligentsia);

Second, participation in numerous aspects of the communist education of the workers and the younger generation through the creation of spiritual values; work in the areas of science, education and health and in institutions for cultural enlightenment, etc. (the scientific, artistic, pedagogical, cultural enlightenment intelligentaia, et al);

Third, participation in social work consisting primarily of: The education of broad masses of workers in the area of political ideology, work ethics, esthetics and morals; the propagation of communist ideology; the molding of a Marxist-Leninist world view and the ideological convictions of the citizens of socialist society; and participation in the creation and multiplication of increasingly more favorable conditions for the overall development of the personality of the builder of communism (all professional groupings of the intelligentsia) (pp 169-170)

The aut or notes that the proposed breakdown is to a certain degree arbitrary inasmuch as the educational process takes place during the course of production itself, not only through the efforts of specialists and organizers, but above all through collectives of workers and farmers headed by party organizations. Nevertheless, by placing particular emphasis on the third line (although in content it is close to the first line and especially to the second line) it becomes possible to present in all its fullness the civic nature of the Soviet intelligentsia and the significance of its social efforts, and this considerably complements its social portrait.

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REGIONAL

SHEVARDNADZE ADDRESSES CONFERENCE ON QUALITY, EFFICIENCY

Thilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 4 Oct 80 pp 1, 3

[Gruz INFORM article: "Improve Production Efficiency and Production Quality"]

[Text] The second republic scientific-practical conference on quality and efficiency opened 3 October in the chamber of the Supreme Soviet of the Georgian SSR. It is being held to discuss progress in implementing recommendations of the first republic conference on quality and efficiency and to decide on a program of measures for the 11th Five-Year Plan, taking into account improvements in planning and the enhanced effect of the economic mechanism upon the effort to increase production efficiency and work quality, the rise in production of new types of products of only the highest category of quality, the efficient utilization of production resources and the expansion of the sphere of application of systems methods for managing the republic's economy on a standardized basis.

The conference was organized by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Guorgia, the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR, Gosstandart USSR [State Committee on Standards of the Council of Ministers] and the Georgian republic administration of Gosstandart.

Those invited to the conference include members and candidate members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia; obkom, gorkom and raykom secretaries of the Georgian CP; party, soviet, economic, administrative, trade union and Komsomol personnel; personnel of people's control organs; scientists; inventors; efficiency experts; representatives of the republic's working class, kokhoz pensantry and intelligentsia; deputies of councils of people's deputies; managers; senior republic ministry and departmental officials and representatives of the press, television and radio.

On the conference presidium are Comrade E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee; Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor Comrade V. Boytsov, chairman of Gosstandart USSR; comrades P.G. Gilashvili, G.V. Kolbin, Z.A. Pataridze, D.I. Patiashvili, S. Ye. Khabeishvili and Z.A. Chkheidze; A.A. Kuz'mitsliy, deputy minister of the Communications Equipment Industry of the USSR; D.P. Koval'chuk, chief of the Scientific-Technical Administration and member of the collegium of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems of the USSR; B.I. Muravin, deputy chief of the technical administration of the Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry of the USSR; A.I. Seleznev, a

senior official of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus; V.I. Badachkoriya, D.L. Kartvelishvili and Yu. I. Kedishvili, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR and other senior republic party and soviet officials.

E.A. Shevardnadze, candidate member of the Politburo of the CFSU Central Committee and First Secretary of the Georgian CP Central Committee, opened the conference with an introductory speech. He declared:

"The second republic scientific-practical conference on further increasing production efficiency and manufactured product quality begins its work today.

"Efficiency and quality. These two words now determine the scope, orientation and nature of all party activity connected with the country's economic and social development. They have become points of reference for party economic policy under the conditions prevailing in a mature socialist society, for its strategy and tactics in the economic field. Long before the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev set forth the task of insuring that it be above all a 5-year plan of quality, a 5-year plan of efficiency in the name of our national welfare.

"Taking this as a basis, the 25th CPSU Congress, in approving the basic directions of the USSR's national economic development over the period 1976-1980, defined the primary task of the 10th Five-Year Plan to be maintenance of the Communist Party on a course oriented toward consistent improvement in the material and cultural standard of living of our people based upon dynamic and proportional development of social production and increased production efficiency, an acceleration of scientific and technical progress, increased labor productivity and all possible improvement of work quality at all levels of the national economy.

"The 10th Five-Year Plan will indeed go down in history as a 5-year plan of efficiency and quality. The stress on efficiency, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev declared at the 25th Party Congress, constitutes a most important component element of our entire economic strategy.

"Now if the first conference on science and practice in connection with matters of efficiency and quality amounted to a concrete, practical response to this party summons, our conference today has been called upon to sum up what has been accomplished during this time and set forth the tasks to be accomplished to achieve further increases in production efficiency and manufactured product quality in the branches of our republic economy.

"We can today declare with confidence and deep satisfaction that the first conference, convened following the 25th CPSU Congress, played an important role in the accomplishment of the most important political-economic task set forth by the congress. It has remained impressed on the memories of those participating in it and has had enormous practical repercussions.

"I would like to take special note of the interesting and informative speech delivered on that occasion by the chairman of Gosstandart USSR, Doctor of Technical Sciences Professor Vasiliy Vasil'yevich Boytsov. We are very glad today

that highly esteemed Vasiliy Vasil'yevich is again participating in the work of our second conference and has kindly consented to speak on this occasion as well.

"At the first conference, timely theoretical problems associated with the effort to increase production efficiency and work quality in all spheres of the republic's economy were set forth and thoroughly analyzed and practical ways of achieving the highest indicators in this area decided upon. Advanced experience was generalized and recommendations developed for achieving further improvement in party direction of the introduction of the integrated product-quality control system in light of the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress and the directives of Comrade L.1. Brezhnev.

"Three years have now gone by, so there is good reason today to turn to a summing up of what has been done. There is, of course, no doubt that a great deal has been accomplished. This will be discussed in greater detail in the presentations to be made to the conference. I will therefore take note only of the fact that more than 2,250 products are now being produced with the state's Seal of Quality, which constitutes 21.5 percent of the total volume of industrial production; in monetary terms, this comes to approximately 1.2 billion rubles. With respect to this indicator, our republic has moved within a comparatively short time from 13th place in the country at the beginning of the 10th Five-Year Plan to second place. Now bearing the Seal of Quality are products vital to the national economy such as motor vehicles, electric motors, welders, electric stockpiling machines, battery-powered trucks, steel pipe, chemical fibers, manganese, ferroalloys and metal-cutting and grinding machines. It is worth mentioning that of the total volume of production bearing the Seal of Quality, consumer goods comprise 80 percent.

"Most of the republic's industrial enterprises are developing and introducing integrated product-quality control systems. This has permitted many of them substantially to exceed average union-wide indicators of the proportion of articles bearing the Seal of Quality in the total volume of industrial production and to achieve smooth production rhythms and stability in fulfillment of state plans. The Kutaisi Motor Vehicle Plant imeni Ordzhonikidze, the Gruzelektromash Production Association, the Poti Hydromechanization Plant and other organizations may be included among these enterprises.

"The integrated quality control system is being increasingly extensively adopted in agricultural production, primarily in the tea and citrus four growing industries, viticulture, animal husbandry, fruit growing and a number of other industries. This is yet another indication of the profound socioeconomic transformations occurring in the village, of the acceleration of the processes associated with the industrialization of agricultural production; providing it with modern, efficient, high-capacity equipment; of a rise in its technical level; of a convergence of industrial and agricultural labor and so forth. This shifting of agricultural production onto a new course and the development and introduction of system control methods have had their greatest impact in Makharadzevskiy, Abashskiy, Gardabanskiy, Telavskiy and a number of other rayons setting up an integrated territorial quality-control system.

"Much is being done in the way of construction as well.

"Today we are entirely justified in declaring that the republic has done a great deal during these past years as regards the introduction of integrated, system-wide product-quality control and increasing production efficiency.

"The labors of the republic commission on quality and efficiency set up under the Central Committee of the Communiat Party of Georgia and headed by Comrade G.V. Kolbin, second secretary of the Central Committee, have been highly fruitful. Identical commissions are also functioning successfully under party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms.

"The decree of the CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers of the USSR, 'Improving Planning and Enhancing the Effect of the Economic Mechanism on Increasing Production Efficiency and Work Quality,' was an important stage in accelerating scientific and technical progress and in further increasing labor productivity and the effectiveness of economic levers and stimuli.

"Proceeding on the basis of party and government directives, the planning of increases in the production of articles in the highest quality category is now being accomplished within the republic on an industry and territorial basis.

Notable success has been achieved in this regard. Georgia's autonomous republics, autonomous oblast, cities and rayons, almost all regions, have turned in good performances in meeting targets with respect to these indicators.

"Efficiency and quality-these are inseparable ideas. The fart is that increasing labor productivity and yield on capital along with the life and reliability of products; cutting raw-material, fuel and electric-power consumption and better utilization of capacities result directly in higher production efficiency and quality indicators, which in turn lead to rational and prugent accumulation and utilization of social wealth, while the material well-being of working people stands in direct dependence upon work efficiency and quality.

"This is why we speak today of the fact that increasing production efficiency and the quality of manufactured output are of enormous economic and social, and, if you will, political importance to each labor collective and each individual. Because of the surcharge placed on its truck tractors because they bear the Seal of Quality, for example, the Kutaisi motor vehicle plant has increased its production sales volume by a million and a half rubles a year. Consumers receive the same measure of economy each year as a result of the tractor's improved operating characteristics.

"Because of the higher proportion of production in the highest quality category, the economic incentive fund in enterprises of the republic Ministry of Light Industry has grown to 1.2 million rubles from this production output.

"Advanced experience in production quality control and the achievements of innovators have been extensively disseminated. Playing an important role in this effort are the Houses of Quality, which have been set up in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, Rustavi, Gori, Poti and Telavi, and the quality offices opened in the republic's large industrial enterprises. We should take note in this connection of the

great supporting role played by Comrade V.V. Boytsov in the development of procisely this unified, well-organized republic-wide system.

"Efficiency and Quality," will have opened at the VDNKh USSk [Exhibition of Achievements of the National Economy of the USSR] in which the Georgian SSR is to be represented by a separate section. This is a great honor, but at the same time a great responsibility. We are convinced that our republic does in fact have something to share at the VDNKh, that all-Union school of advanced experience.

"Bo as you can see, comrades, quite a lot has been accomplished in the period between the first and second conferences on science and practice. This proves once again that with the adoption of a scientifically-based, goal-oriented, system-wide approach to a matter, and with good political and organizational work among the masses on the part of our party organizations, a lot can be accomplished when, as they say, you can make a clean start. And as you all well know, we did in fact have to start almost from scratch. This was the period in which the effort was getting under way to implement the decisions of the 25th CPSU Congress.

"It is significant that the second scientific-practical conference on efficiency and quality is now meeting on the eve of the 26th Party Congress. One of the most important characteristics of the present day, L.I. Breshnev has declared, is the effort to achieve efficiency and quality. This is no short-term campaign. This is the course the party has taken, and taken, as they say, seriously and for a long time. In this lies not only the key task of the current 5-year plan, but the determining factor of our economic and social development for many years into the future as well. Therein, if you will, lies a program for the education of an entire generation of Soviet people, this is a point stressed by Leonid 11'ich Brezhnev.

"It is on precisely this basis that we should proceed with everything we undertake in the future. We must do a lot more than we have done so far. The lith Five-Year Plan calls for an increase of 2 billion rubles in the volume of production output in the highest quality category.

"The future program for increasing efficiency and quality will be more complex and challenging and entail an intensification of our efforts. It is therefore necessary to decide ou specific ways to solve this problem, to approach it more purposefully and to a greater extent on a system-wide basis and to implement its solution on a truly scientific basis.

"We might say that solution of the problem of improving the quality of production output, as well as the quality of all our work, requires a qualitatively new approach. To this end it is necessary to define goals for each ministry, each department, each enterprise and for each region. It is extremely important to improve still more all our organizational and educational work with our people. We need to impose greater individual responsibility and stimulate greater personal interest in improving the quality of the production turned out by each member of a labor collective, from the manager to the rank-and-file worker, to involve the

broadest masses of workers in this effort, have this effort on truly democratic principles and to make greater use of both social and material incentives. This is the direct responsibility of each party organization and of all economic administrators.

"Special attention should be focused upon improving the quality of consumer goods and foodstuffs, which should be of only excellent quality.

"Let each one of us be imbued with the consciousness that attiving for quality is an effort to improve the welfare of the entire Soviet people and for the well-being of each family. It was precisely this aspect of the matter that Comrade L.I. Breshnev emphasized at the November (1979) plenum of the CPSU Central Committee when he declared: 'In order to achieve consistent improvement in the well-being of our people, it is necessary to double, to triple the energy directed toward implementation of the party's course toward improved quality and efficiency. There is no alternative to this course, and it must be pursued undeviatingly during the course of the lith Five-Year Plan."

"In launching our lith Five-Year Plan, and as we approach the 26th Party Congress, we should always seep in mind the fact that increasing production by bringing intensive quality factors to bear constitutes the most important criterion of our economic development and for the fullest possible exploitation of its capacities.

"Allow me, dear compules, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia and the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministern of the Georgian SCR, to extend warm and sincere greetings to all participants in the second republic scientific-practical conference on problems in raising production efficiency and improving product quality-party, soviet, trade union and Romsonel personnel; industrial managers; scientists; specialists; leading production workers and innovators and all who have gathered in this hall, shove all our must be losse guests, Commune Vasilly Vasil'vevich Boyts, chairman of Losstandart LSSR; commune Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Kuz'mitskiy, deputy minister of the Communications equipment industry of the USSR; Commune Dmitriy Petrovich Royal'chuk, objet of the scientific and technical administration and member of the collegion of the Ministry of Instrument Making, Automation Equipment and Control Systems and Commade Boris Nikolayevich Murayin, deputy chief of the technical administration of the Ministry of the Machine-Tool and Tool-Building Industry of the USSR.

"Also participating in the work of our conference is Comrade Aleksandr Ivanovich Seleznev, a senior official of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus."

In conclusion, Conrade E.A. Shevardnadze wished conference participants successful and productive work and expressed the hope that it would be still another important milestone in the effort to increase production efficiency and product quality, that the results of the work of the conference itself will prove to be highly effective, fruitful, would produce good results and that the conference would make it possible to raise this entire effort to a qualitatively new plane.

- G. V. Kolbin, second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Georgia, presented a report entitled: "Recommendations of the First Conference on Science and Practice and the Tasks of Party Organizations in Connection with the Effort To Achieve Further Increases in Production officiency and Manufactured Product Qua'ity in the Branches of the National Economy."
- V.V. Boytsov, chairman of Gosstandart USSR, delivered a report entitled: "The State Quality Control System--the Most Important Means of Controlling Social Production on a Standardized Basis."

Conference participants also heard presentations by 2. Sh. Maskhishvili, secretary of the Ibiliai gorkom of the Communist Party of Georgia, on the system programming method of operation of the Ibiliai city quality control system and ways to improve it; 1.8. Zhordaniya, deputy chairman of Gosplan of the Georgian SSR, on the introduction of scientific and technical advances as one of the levers affecting the effort to increase production efficiency in the republic's economy and by 1.N. Okley, deputy chairman of the State Committee on Science and Technology of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR, entitled "Analysis of the implementation of Scientific and Technical Programs for the Development, Assimilation and Introduction of New, Highly Efficient Production Processes and Their Role in Controlling Social Production."

V.A. Khazaradze, second secretary of the Kutaisi gorkom of the Georgian CP, devoted his report to the subject of improving party leadership and direction of the development and introduction of the Kutaisi city quality control system.

"The Role of Georgia's Youth in Developing a Mass Movement under the Slogan 'The Enthusiasm and Creativity of the Young in the Effort To Increase Efficiency and Improve Onality'" was the title of the report presented by I.I. Khutsishvili, secretary of the Georgian Komsomol Central Committee.

G.N. Kalandarishvili, first deputy chairman of the Committee on Prices of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR, spoke on "The Stimulating Role of Prices in the Output of High-Efficiency Production." G.Z. Mirianashvili, chairman of the Georgian Gosstroy [State Committee for Construction], discussed measures taken by enterprises in the construction and construction materials industries to improve the quality of construction. A.M. Barebadze, Georgian SSR Procurator, dealt with the responsibilities of organs of the republic procuracy in the effort against the output of poor quality, nonstandard or incomplete production. L.1. Sadunishvili, division chief of the Council of Ministers of the Georgian SSR, spoke on directions for the work of republic ministries and departments under the conditions prevailing with an improving economic mechanism.

Conference participants have visited the Exhibition of Economic Achievements of the Georgian SSR.

The work of the conference is still under way.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL.

GEORGIAN DEPUTY CHITANAVA SPEECH AT SUPREME SOVIET

Tbilisi ZARYA VOSTOKA in Russian 24 Oct 80 p 3

[Report on USSR Supreme Soviet speech by N.A. Chitanava, deputy for the Georgian SSR's Signakhskiy Electoral Okrug]

[Excerpts] Dear Comrade Deputies! The 10th Five-Year Plan, which represents a new quantitative and qualitative step in the creation of communism's material-technical base and a further upsurge in the people's material and cultural living standard, is drawing to an end.

in accordance with the plan-geared and dynamic nature of Soviet society, the final period of each 5-year plan organically merges with the new stage of our onward progress along the great historical path of communist building and lays the foundation for the accomplishment of the even more magnificent and even more responsible tasks of the future. That is why the final year of the 10th Pive-Year Plan is being commemorated in our country by a nationwide political and labor upsurge, splendid creative accomplishments and mass demonstrations of the truly creative heroism and high enthusiasm of the workers of city and countryside.

Comrade Deputies! The 10th Five-Year Plan has been a special one for the Georgian republic. Soviet Georgia has succeeded in overcoming serious lagging in all sectors of the economy in this time. Thanks to the extensive sweep, large scale and rapid rate of growth of production, it has reached the forward boundaries of economic development, and, what is most important, these years have been for us years of political and social upsurge, spiritual uplift and decisive dissociation from the shady developments and negative trends which were on the point of taking root in the recent past in the republic's social life.

This significant process was initiated, as is known, by the CPSU Central Committee decree on the Tbilisskiy Gorkom. It is difficult to exaggerate the significance of this document, which was truly historic for our republic, for the unswerving and consistent implementation of whose instructions and requirements the Georgian party organization is performing a great deal of political and organizing work. A further increase in the republic's economy-wide and industrial potential has been secured in the 5-vear period which is coming to an end. National income, according to a preliminary estimate, will have increased 43 percent, which is 10 points above the 5-year plan quotas. Industry is overfulfilling the taut quota of the current year

and will secure an increase in production over the 5-year period as a whole of 41 percent, that is, will reach the industrial growth boundary letermined by the 10th Five-Year Plan.

The successes of agriculture's workers are impressive. In 1980, as in previous years, they cultivated a big harvest of valuable southern and subtropical crops. Our glorious, indefatigable tea growers, who achieved the 5-year quota long since, victoriously stormed the height of the half-million ton tea leaf harvest. A record harvest this year--770,000 tons of grapes--insures a further increase in the production of the well-known Georgian wines. The quotas for the procurement of citrus fruit, vegetables, potatoes, grain, animal husbandry products and other agricultural produce will also be fulfilled. As a whole, the average annual gross agricultural product will have increased 35 percent over the 5-year plan compared with the planned 29 percent.

The main direction of accelerated economic growth is a continuous increase in production efficiency. A social labor productivity increase of 40 percent was contemplated for the 5-year period. Almost 86 percent of the total national income increase will have been obtained thanks to this factor. The proportion of products in the highest quality category will constitute 22 percent of total industrial production compared with 2.9 percent in 1975. Progressive changes were also determined in the sectorial structure of the economy as a whole.

The increase in the scale and efficiency of social production has contributed to the unawerving implementation of the social program. Over the 5 years real income per capita will have risen 25 percent instead of the planned 22 percent.

Comrades! The measures determined by the draft plan basically provide for a high rate of development of the republic's economy next year. The draft envisages a comprehensive program of the further growth of all sectors of the economy, the better use of natural and economic resources, an increase in the population's living standard, the growth of retail commodity turnover and the expansion of all types of services.

At the same time I would like to mention certain questions of importance to the republic.

in recent years of the 10th Five-Year Plan a considerable disproportion has come about in the republic between the sharply growing procurements of agricultural products and the production capacity to process them. The shortage of annual capacity with regard for the peak receipts of raw material is causing an increase in losses of agricultural products, a disruption of technological procedures and, what is particularly disturbing, a deterioration in the quality of food products. This, comrades, is a very acute question, and for this reason I will permit myself to dwell on it in more detail.

Recent years in the republic have been characterized by a sharp increase in the production of tea raw material and a parallel increase in the level of the mechanized harvesting of tea. In 1980 this indicator was double that of 1975, and 50 percent more pen leaf will be harvested by the mechanized method in 1985. The

introduction of mechanization is naturally being accompanied by a continuous increase in the daily receipt of tea leaf, and this, in turn, engenders the insistent need for an increase in processing capacity. Furthermore, and this also has to be taken into consideration, tea raw material harvested by the mechanized method requires a corresponding improvement in processing techniques. Yet the production equipment of our tea factories is obsolescent and obsolete, and the sole manufacturer of this equipment—the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Light and Food Industry and Household Appliances Batumi Machine—Building Plant—satisfies only 35-40 percent of industry's requirements. Owing to the lack of sufficient capacity, the harvested raw material remains on the plantations for several days waiting to be accepted, which inevitably leads to the spoilage of the tea leaf and is negatively reflected in the quality of the product.

The interests of high-quality tea growing and wine making urgently demand a further strengthening of the physical plant of industry's food sectors. Proceeding from the situation which has evolved and for the purpose of eliminating the shortage of processing capacity in the next few years, the republic outlined for 1981 for USSR Ministry of Food Industry organizations capital investments of R119 million, including R72.2 million for construction and installation work. But the USSR Gosplan and Ministry of Food Industry provide for capital investments at a level which is only 57 percent of the above, including 42 percent for construction and installation work. We would like to ask the Gosplan and Ministry of Food Industry to reexamine their decision for without the allocation of the necessary capital investments the existing disproportion will become even worse, which will undoubtedly entail a deceleration in the growth of the production of very valuable agricultural products, as envisaged in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers do ree 'Measures' to Increase the Production of Southern and Subtropical Crops and Further Accelerate the Development of Agriculture in the Georgian SSR."

The Georgian SSR has rich deposits of high-quality natural facing material: marble, granite, hasalt and others. However, our available capacity for processing them is unable to satisfy the constantly growing demand for them. For this reason we formulated concrete proposals and measures for expanding the production of natural facing materials. Unfortunately, these proposals are not encountering due support either in the USSR Gosplan or Ministry of Construction Materials Industry.

Utterly inadequate use is being made of the republic's tremendous resources for bottling mineral waters because of the lack of the appropriate capital investments.

We ask the USSR Gosplan and Ministry of Food Industry to examine this question.

Difficulties have arisen recently in providing the republic's economy with fuel and energy resources. There is a systematic shortfall in the supply of oil products and natural gas from other economic regions of the country. Yet at the same time the Batumi Oil Refinery is shipping a certain part of its products out of the republic. We suggest that it would be advisable to examine the question of the maximum use of the oil products produced by the Batumi Refinery for satisfying the republic's requirements. This would considerably reduce cross railroad shipments and create more favorable conditions for the republic economy's timely and uninterrupted supply with fuel.

And, finally, we believe it necessary to touch on the question of the so-called lading "prohibitions" in railroad transport. We are well aware of certain difficulties in the operation of the railroads and we understand that in extreme circumstances such "prohibitions," as a reluctant measure, may be introduced by the Ministry of Railways. However, the unduly frequent application of this sanction, and often by the leaders of individual lines, furthermore, puts the republic's enterprises and organizations in a very difficult position.

I believe that the interests of the economy dictate the need for strict and precise order to be brought to bear here.

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CSO: 1800

REGIONAL

TAJIKS PRESERVE CULTURAL HERITAGE

Central Committee Message

Dushanbe KOPONIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 27 Jun 80 p 1

[Tajik Communist Party Central Committee message to Fourth Congress of the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments of the Tajik SSR]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee warmly and cordially greets the delegates to the Fourth Congress of the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Gultural Monuments of the republic, which plays an important part in the working people's spiritual development.

Abiding by the instructions of the 25th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee decrees and the decisions of the 18th Tajik Communist Party Congress on questions of communist upbringing, the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments has, in the period under review, achieved a reanimation of the work of the entire republic organization and the lower collectives. Its ranks have been replenished appreciably and now unite more than 486,000 people.

On the basis of the new Tajik SSR law "Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments" the republic council, the presidium and its sections and the oblast, city and rayon councils have with the participation of the broad public locally performed a great amount of work on the preservation, sciencific study, beautification and propaganda of monuments.

In raising Soviet people in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and internationalism an important part is played by historical-revolutionary monuments, monuments to V.I. Lenin, outstanding figures of the party and state, science and culture and literature and art, active fighters for the establishment of Soviet power and heroes of the Soviet Union and socialist labor and the monuments describing the martial and labor exploits of the Soviet people. Celebration of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the Soviet Armed Porces, the 110th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth and the 35th anniversary of the Soviet Union's victory in the Great Patriotic War were of importance in galvanizing the activity of the society's collectives.

Assistance to enterprise, establishment and school collectives has become a principal area of the society's work. It is an effective means of patriotic, international education and for the creation of a solicitous attitude on the part of the working people and the younger generation toward the cultural heritage. Young people's tours to sites of our people's revolutionary, labor and combat glory make an impressive contribution to the formation of the communist consciousness of the younger generation. The society's participation in work to conserve and restore the republic's historical and cultural monuments has become more tangible.

The Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments, making skill-ful use of the historical-cultural heritage and the artistic traditions of the past, is called on to continue to constantly inculcate in the working people a sense of responsibility for the preservation and multiplication of the people's cultural values and a genuinely respectful attitude toward them and to purposefully direct the efforts of the society's members toward the revelation, study and propaganda of monuments in accordance with the requirements of the CPSU Central Committee decree "A Purther Improvement in Ideological and Political Education Work."

On the threshold of the 26th CPSU Congress and the 19th Tajik Communist Party Congress the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee wishes the Fourth Congress of the Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments of the republic fruitful work and expresses the confidence that the Society for the Preservation of Monuments and its organizations locally will adopt all measures for a further improvement in the preservation, restoration, beautification and use of historical and cultural monuments for the purpose of the development of science and culture, the strengthening of ideological-educational work in the collectives, the formation of the lofty feeling of Soviet patriotism and the ideological-moral, international and sesthetic education of the working people.

Preservation Society Congress

Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian 1 Jul 80 p 3

[TadzhikTA report: "Heritage of the Ages Passed on to Posterity"]

[Text] The careful hand of the artist-restorer ran lightly over the stone "symphony"—and the bewitching beauty of the creations of the ancient architects was revealed through the patina of the ages. Such historical monuments as the Sari Mazor architectural complex in Ura-Tyube, the site of the ancient settlement of Khul'buk in Voseyskiy Rayon, the rock drawings of the Pamirs and many others are a hymn to the genius and talent of the people. Approximately 500 architectural works of antiquity have been protected in recent years in the republic. Each archaeological season names increasingly new stone and clay wonders. Preserve down the ages an intransient value of the people—this appeal permeated all the speeches of the delegates to and participants in the Fourth Congress of the Society for the Preservation of Historial and Cultural Monuments of the Tajik SSR which was held in Dushanbe.

M.R. Rakhmatov, chairman of the society's republic council presidium, delivered the report at the congress.

Preserving all that is best and progressive that has been accumulated by the age-old culture of the people and creating on this basis new cultural values, using them for the good of the people-this is the essence of the wise policy of our party and our state, the speaker said. The essence of this policy is reflected in the new USSR Constitution and numerous party documents. Striking new confirmation of the tireless concern of the party and state for a solicitous attitude toward and the preservation of the heritage of the past was the adoption of the USSR law "Preservation and Use of Historical and Cultural Monuments." A similar legal document was also adopted in our republic. Furthermore, the Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and Tajik SSR Council of Ministers adopted a decree on measures for a further improvement in the preservation and use of historical and cultural monuments. All this has undoubtedly borne good fruit and has been a stimulus in the galvanization of the activity of the republic council, its primary organizations and numerous enthusiasts. The number of the society's members has grown considerably in the 5 years since the previous congress. Currently almost 4,000 primary organizations unite in their ranks approximately 490,000 enthusiasts -- workers, kolkhoz members, scientists, representatives of the intelligentsia and trainee and student youth.

Questions of the state of the historical-revolutionary, archaeological and architectural monuments and the use of the creations of the ancient musters and also the best works of modern architecture in the young people's ideological and moral education have constantly been at the center of the attention of the society's republic council and its organizations locally. Seminar-conferences of the society's activists with the participation of the leaders of the farms and industrial enterprises and construction sites on whose territory the architectural relics are situated were held with the support and assistance of the party and soviet authorities in Leninabadskaya, Kurgan-Tyubinskaya and Kulyabskaya oblasts. A scientific-theoretical conference was held last year in Leninabad devoted to the 60th anniversary of the adoption of Lenin's Decree on the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Monuments. In the period under review the society's activists appeared before the republic's working people for hundreds of discussions and lectures and organized approximately 50 stationary and mobile exhibitions. Summary posters on the monuments in Gissar and Shaartuz were published. Sketches of 25 types of badges propagandizing architectural and historial-revolutionary monuments on the republic's territory were elaborated.

The republic council has begun to enlist scientists and specialists more extensively in its popularizing activity. Historical-revolutionary monument, propaganda of archaeological and architectural monuments and youth sections, which are headed by the republic's top scientists, have been organized under the auspices of the council presidium. The activity of the archaeological and architectural monuments section led by Prof N. Negmatov, corresponding member of the Tajik Academy of Sciences, merits attention. The section's activists work in close contact with scientists and specialists of the Institute of History imeni A. Donish, the republic Academy of Sciences, the History Faculty of the Tajik State University imeni V.I. Lenin and the Architectural-Construction Faculty of the Tajik Polytechnical Institute and many public organizations. These enthusiasts have a wide range of activity—they prepare information on the latest archaeological "novelties," help the society's presidium with advice and expert opinions, appear before the public in actures and discussions on propaganda of the cultural heritage of the past activity—that is actually ac

in people a feeling for what is beautiful and love and respect for the spiritual treasure house of the people in the example of the best models of architecture. Candidates of historical sciences U.P. Pulatov and A.I. Isakov, E. Gulyamova, scientific assistant of the Institute of History imeni A. Donish, author of the brochure "The Medieval Cities of Khuttal'," and others are active propagandists of the people's architectural and artistic values.

Many of the society's oblast, city and rayon branches are making a big contribution to propaganda of the heritage of the past and the best works of modern masters. A great deal of experience has been accumulated by the society's Leninabadskaya Oblast council. On its initiative and with the support of the local party and soviet organizations posters were published colorfully describing a monument to ancient architecture—the site of the ancient settlement of Pendzhikent—a film feature was shot on the exploit of fellow countryman Domullo Azizov, to whom a memorial has been erected in his birthplace, and the colored photoalbum "Leninabad" was published.

The young people's patronage of historical revolutionary monuments and obelisks of labor glory, children's painting competitions, month-long campaigns for the beautification of monuments and the planting of trees and shrubs on their adjacent territory are effective means of inculcating in the younger generation a feeling of a solicitous attitude toward the people's cultural heritage.

The Tajik Communist Party Central Committee and the republic government devote a great deal of attention to the creation of new monuments immortalizing the military and labor exploits of the people and prominent figures of literature and art. Memorials have been installed in recent years to V.I. Lenin, the leader of the world proletariat, in Dushanbe, Leninabad and Khorog. A significant occurrence in the republic's cultural life was the erection in the capital of an architectural memorial ensemble to S. Ayni, the founder of Tajik Soviet literature. The memory of many hero-soldiers who fell in the civil and Great Patriotic wars is perpetuated in granite and marble.

At the same time, the speaker observed, there are still many possibilities and much potential in the preservation of monuments and their use in the communist education of the working people. A number of historical-revolutionary monuments and obelisks of labor glory has still not been put on the preservation list. Far from all the monuments installed in recent years are distinguished by high a tistic skill and taste. An example of this is the memorial to the subjugators of the Vakhshskaya Valley which has been put up in the settlement of Vakhsh. Inexpressive in composition and weak in artistic design, it will hardly be an adornment of the settlement and really reveal the heroic exploit of the Vakhshstroy pioneers.

The republic is very rich in monuments to the people's ancient material culture, which even today, many centuries later, are striking in their magnificence of forms, wealth of representational means and amazing colors. These include such unique installations as Adrhina Teppa in Vakhshskiy, Kalai Kafirnigan in Leninskiy, the site of the ancient settlement of Pendzhikent in Pendzhikentskiy rayons and others. The Gissarskaya Fortress, where a protected architectural complex is currently being created, is a significant monument to the medieval art of fortification.

The most important specialists believe that there are unique monuments to the people's medieval culture of the pre-Muslim period on Tajik territory. Discovering and preserving them means not only bringing forward works of ancient architecture of astounding artistic value for the descendants but also familiarizing them with the culture, social life and customs of their distant ancestors.

Unfortunately, many examples could be cited illustrating a sometimes disrespectful attitude toward the cultural heritage. Certain managers of farms on whose territory archaeological values are located are continuing to violate the law on the preservation of monuments. Thus on Moskovskiy Rayon's Sovkhoz imeni Turdyyev an irrigation channel has been laid through the site of the medieval city of "Sayed." The site of the ancient city of Sanzharshokh has been destroyed on Pendzhikentskiy Rayon's Kolkhoz imeni Lenin, and a part of the ancient city of Shakhrinau has been almost entirely cleared away in Gissar.

The settlement of Shakhristan, on whose territory once stood the capital of ancient Ustrushan, is rich in magnificent examples of monumental architecture and the fine arts. Unfortunately, neither the Leninabadskaya Oblast Society for the Preservation of Monuments nor the Ura-Tyubinskiy Gorispolkom is taking the proper steps to preserve this architectural relic.

Nor does the level of restoration work correspond to the requirements of the time, and inadequate use is being made here of the achievements of science and practice. The problem of specialist restorers has still not been solved. There is a lack of precise interaction between branches of the Society for the Preservation of Monuments, local soviet ispolkoms and kolkhoz and sovkhoz leaders and the architectural-planning organizations. It is essential to always remember that the preservation and use of the people's rich historical and cultural heritage is our duty and our sacred obligation for without having enriched ourselves with knowledge of the culture of our forefathers it is impossible to create a culture worthy of our time.

There was big, concerned discussion at the congress concerning a galvanization of propagands and an improvement in the preservation of the cultural heritage of the past and concerning the need to enlist broad strata of the public, scientists, students and schoolchildren in this great and important work.

Kh. Kh. Khayrakov, chairman of the Kulyabskaya Oblast council of the society, Kh. R. Rakhmonov, chairman of the Kurgan-Tyubinskaya Oblast council of the society, I. B. Bokiyev, deputy chairman of the Leninabadskaya Oblast council of the society, and others described at the congress the new forms and methods of the activity of the primary organizations locally.

Academician B. I. Iskandarov, director of the Tajik Academy of Sciences Institute of History imeni A. Donish, spoke at the congress about the contribution of the scientists to the preservation and propaganda of monuments.

R. Sh. Mirzoshoyev, minister of culture of the republic, emphasized in his speech the need for the society's closer relations with cultural establishments and for the training of its own personnel and specialist restorers. V.P. Ashmarin, chief of the republic Military Commissariat Political Department, dwalt in his speech on the role of historical-revolutionary monuments in the military-patriotic education of the youth.

The adopted decree outlined measures for the further galvanization of the society's activity in the working people's communist education.

The congress delegates assured the party and government that they would make every effort to accomplish the tasks they had been set.

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SERIOUS DEFICIENCIES NOTED AT BELORUSSIAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 29 Oct 80 p 2

[Article by I Mostkov: "The Criterion of Demandingness"]

[Excerpts] The party organization of the Belorussian Order of Labor Red Banner State University imeni V.I. Lenin is one of the largest in the republic. The backbone of the collective is made up of more than 1,800 communists and its possesses enormous experience and great strengths and potential. Thanks largely to the daily activity of the part committee the 24 bureaus of the primary party organizations at the university rack up successes year after year both in the training of highly qualified specialists and in scientific work. In socialist completition last year the order-bearing university won the Challenge Red Banner of the USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education and of Central Committee of the Branch Trade Unions.

When evaluating these achievements, however, communists are obliged to approach the matter using a yardstick of special demandingness--from the positions of the rapidly burgeoning requirements made of the activity of a scientific-teaching collective, and taking into account the role that a university is called upon to play in the development of science and the training of specialists.

This yardstick of demandingness has been defined by a number of CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decrees on universities, by the decisions of the 19th and 20th Belorussian SSR Communist Party Central Committee plenums, and -- quite specifically in regard to the Belorussian State University -- by the quite recent 3 June report of Petr Mironovich Masherov at a meeting of the university party aktiv. In this report P.M. Masherov made a detailed analysis of the activity of the Belorussian State University collective and formulated with exceptional preciseness criteria for effective party assessment of the results of the university's activity. Addressing the communists of the Belrussian State University, he stated: "The position of 'flagship' among the universities of the republic makes it incumbent upon you to strive in all standard models of work for the highest effectiveness." And here, P.M. Masherov specifically indicated the shortcomings that have affected the level of activity at the Belorussian State University, together with the potential that must be utilized in order to enhance its effectiveness, and the demands on the party leadership such as will insure the realization of this potential.

In the accountability report of the party committee and the delegate speeches at the conference many miscalculations and much unfinished work in the organization of the scientific and teaching processes, in the conducting of educational work, in the training of scientific personnel and in the activity of primary party organizations, the party committee and the vice-chancellor's office, were subjected to serious criticism.

Thus, some student-communists are not setting an example in study. The level of involvement in the social sciences does not in a number of cases correspond to the requirements set forth. There are many shortcomings in the work of the university's training department. Indicators of scientific research such as the economic effectiveness derived from the introduction of a single development, the average cost of economic agreement subjects, and the amount of research being done on the most important subjects, are still low. Individual faculties and departments link their own scientific quests poorly with the demands of the national economy. This applies primarily to the mechanical-mathematics, biology and geography faculties. There are many shortcomings in the training of scientific personnel. Less than half of the graduates offering or defending dissertations complete their postgraduate work. During the five-year plan only 7 of 43 planned defenses of doctoral dissertations took place.

Serious blunders were revealed at the conference in the fulfillment of comprehensive plans for the communist education of students. Much of the blame here lies with the ideological commission of the party committee, which did not afford the necessary aid to primary party organizations. Substantial complaints were leveled at the work of the social organizations, primarily the trade union organizations. The high level of the criticism sounded at the conference bears witness to the principled nature of the communists and their determination to carry out the tasks set by the party for the university which have been reflected in full in the adopted decree. And on this note, the report on the conference would have ended if it had not been for one episode that clearly demonstrated the fundamental shortcoming of the report delivered by the party committee deputy secretary A.P. Zhuk.

The rapporteur posed the question: what has been done to restructure scientific work in light of the arguments expressed at the June meeting of the university's party aktiv? This question is apparently quite justified: in the report on this matter it was stated only that measures had been worked out and discussed in all faculties and then confirmed at a joint meeting of the party committee and the vice-chancellor's office to fulfill the resolutions of the party aktiv meeting. First, however, the communists were apparently not uninterested in knowing about these measures had been worked out and discussed in all faculties and then confirmed at a joint meeting of the party committee and the vice-chancellor's office to fulfill the resolutions of the party aktiv meeting. First, however, the communists were apparently not uninterested in knowing about these measures only for their own faculties. Second, almost 5 months have elapsed since the meeting--time enough at least for first steps to have been taken to realize what was intended. The rapporteur, however, in essence declined to provide an answer, merely repeating that measures had been adopted....

Meanwhile, the gap between intent and fulfillment is not small, and criticism is effective only when the desire on the part of the communists to eliminate shortcomings is supported by the organizational work of the party organs and the administration. Very little was said in the report about the results of such work by the party committee and vice-chancellor's office. Only on one of the critical recommendation's -- about the inadequate recruitment of Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences scientists in the work of the university -- did the rapporteur make a specific report, namely that the situation has been corrected during this academic year: 25 academicians and corresponding members and many doctors of science and professors have been invited to deliver lectures. And what about other forms of cooperation between the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences and the Relorussian State University -- two major scientific centers? What about, for example, an extension of training for university students in the academy's laboratories? And what about improving the organization of scientific research? And what about implementation of the other proposals? Alas, the conference participants learned nothing of this.

Take another example. At the 3 June meeting there was sharp criticism of the manner of which the cerators are selected. Among them three-fourths were nonparty people and only four were doctors of science or professors. The delegates learned from the accountability report of the party committee at the conference that the makeup of the curators is now under review. Why only now? The curators are selected at the start of the academic year or at least during its first few days, and they are now already acting in the posts--or they should be.

The conference delegates were also not informed about the progress in the realization of many other measures intended at the meeting of the party aktiv. This shortcoming in the report on only individual matters was expanded in the speeches of the delegates, mainly the university rector V.A. Belyy. It was to be expected that the delegates of those party organizations that had been subjected to particularly severe criticism at the 3 June meeting of the party aktiv or at the present conference would have said something about conclusions that had been drawn and the corresponding restructuring of work. But the representatives of the mechanical-mathematics faculty, the institute of applied chemistry problems and a number of other collectives preferred to remain silent.

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